CHARTING DOMAINS OF SILENCE —

A DESCRIPTION OF A PROCESS OF FEMINIST TRAINING ADDRESSING THE RAPE OF MEN IN PRISON

NICOLA WOODIN

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Faculty of Social Science and Humanities
Department of Psychology
University of Cape Town

Supervisor: Sally Swartz

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ABSTRACT

The rape of adult males is a subject in need of attention. The rape of men within South African prisons particularly, has been inadequately researched and documented. Investigation is necessary in order to challenge myths which serve to maintain a 'cycle of silence' regarding the male rape, to guide preventative measures, and inform appropriate services.

A training programme within Pollsmoor Prison, is described. The initiative addressed the rape of men in prison, upon request of a group of inmates and warders named 'Friends Against Abuse'.

This record is a self-reflexive account of a facilitator's experiences of the research and training. It describes a process of reflection and action, its style consistent with the feminist values that informed the work. The methodological blend of Participatory Action Research, Experiential Training, and contributions from psychodynamic thinking, are elaborated.

Discussion explores professional and personal challenges to women working within this domain. It raises questions regarding the impact of a feminist agenda on such work and considers issues of sustainability and the impact of similar interventions. Strategies to ensure effective implementation, monitoring and evaluation are suggested, as well as mechanisms to guarantee integrity, such as 'debriefings' and supervision.

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THIS PROJECT IS DEDICATED TO ANNE AND ANASTASIA.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 AN OVERVIEW

This dissertation describes a feminist process of researching, planning and implementing a six-week training programme for a group of twenty-five people within Pollsmoor Prison in the Western Cape.

A group called 'Friends Against Abuse', comprising warders and inmates, was constituted in an attempt to combat the rape of men by men, in prison. Their initiative, as claimed by a senior public relations officer within Pollsmoor, further supported by a review of literature on the subject, is extraordinary: it appears to be the first cohesive attempt from within African prisons, to explore the needs of male survivors of rape.

In writing this dissertation, I aim to demonstrate one of the functions I believe to be critical to any therapeutic work – that of bearing witness (Sinason, 1992; Mosse, 1994; Rothman, 1996; Herman, 1997). I was one of a team of three women granted access to Pollsmoor in our capacities as training consultants. We were invited to witness aspects of the institution and the lives of inmates and warders. We were asked to share our observations with others 'outside', in an attempt to debunk myths that surround prisons, and to engender support for the 'Friends Against Abuse' initiative.

Within South Africa, prison dynamics and male rape and the intersection between them, are currently topical concerns. I was frequently urged by health care professionals to record details of the training process. This dissertation is thus well timed to coincide with popular and professional interest. I would be pleased if this piece of writing contributed to further assistance to male rape survivors. The rape of men in prison deserves serious attention.

To this end, I have specifically chosen to describe and explore the struggles of, and challenges to, women who identify themselves as feminists, and who choose to work with men, some of whom are perpetrators of violence against women. I offer some observations and recommendations. My hope is that this document can be of use to other feminist clinicians and organisations that are considering therapeutic work in this arena.

1.2 PRELIMINARY EXPLANATIONS

This dissertation is a record of a process. It is an attempt at integrating supposedly disparate theories within an uncharted domain. In bearing witness, I have endeavoured to do so with

respect and the same consideration of feminist ethics that informed our methodology. I wanted to avoid replicating the dynamic that can occur in academic writing, in which the 'subjects' of research are appropriated and interpreted by those in a position of power (hooks, 1990).

In writing this text, I wondered how to express my contradictory feelings of compassion, passion and outrage. I vicariously experienced trauma, abuse and violation. I lived with hope and respect and clung to ideals. Simultaneously, I was working in a realm that incorporated denial, reluctance, cynicism and avoidance.

I concluded that a consideration of how I managed these paradoxes, was integral to the description. Therefore, this is a personal account, infused with my personality, subjective perceptions, observations and interpretations. I am cognisant of academic restrictions, but believe, as articulated by Burman (1990) and other feminist researchers, that discussion about personal feelings and experiences "may provide extra knowledge about the topic under investigation, and so assist scientific enquiry" (Vogelman, 1990, p. 194).

During this period of working within the male section of Pollsmoor, I became increasingly aware that I was confronting apparent polarities of yin/ yang, anima/ animus, masculine/ feminine (Jung, 1882; Connell, 1994). The struggle to balance these seeming dichotomies was a challenge that I articulated during the planning and evaluation of our workshops, and that I worked with in supervision. It became a theme in my own therapy, as "an integral part of the larger problem of the union of conscious and unconscious" (Chetwynd, 1982, p. 20), and continued to confront me in the writing of this dissertation. At times, it threatened to interrupt the text in seemingly tangential ways.

I have chosen to use footnotes as a tool for limiting these interruptions. I embrace this device in the tradition of Beryl Curt (1994) and Anne Store (1995), in an attempt to demonstrate a sense of process. Through their use, I hope to illustrate that nothing I say is unproblematic or seamless. In addition, I consider them to be indispensable components of this text.[1]

[1] I want to plead for the understanding and forgiveness of many feminist writers whom I admire and whose work has affected me profoundly – for not following their innovative protocols in writing.

An example is Monique Wittig (1973, p. 7), who queries the whole concept of the personal pronoun, which she maintains is impersonal and by implication masculine. She explains her re-vision of language as a "total rupture with masculine culture, texts written by women ... careless of male approval" (1973, p. 9).

I have chosen instead a more traditional masculine language and methodology to record a process of working with men. The voice is suited to the task required, but I regret not embracing a different challenge.

1.2.1 FOCUS ON 'PROCESS' AND REFLEXIVITY

"... NEGATIVE CAPABILITY, *(that)*... is, when a man *(sic)* is capable of being in uncertainties, mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact and reason"

(John Keats: Letter dated 21 December 1817, cited by Bion, 1974, p.74).

The term 'process' is frequently and glibly used within psychological, political and social discourse, yet I found it surprisingly difficult to locate a satisfactory definition. The *Collins paperback English dictionary* defines 'process' as: "a series of actions which produce a change or development; the process of digestion; a method of doing or producing something; progress or course of time" (Smart, 1994:1, p. 674). Synonyms as per the *Collins Thesaurus* include: "...advance, course, development, evolution, growth, stage, unfolding, manner, means, measure, method, performance, practice, procedure, system..." (Smart, 1994:2, p. 491).

'Process' is therefore characterised by movement. This text focuses on how the research and training took place; how it was experienced, expressed and recorded; in keeping with the methodologies that were utilised, and with the spirit of feminism that pervades my work. Burman emphasises, however, that embracing description and reflexivity as central to feminist enquiries, has its own difficulties. She writes: "Producing writing based on experiential accounts dismantles the traditional defence of intellectualization and poses difficulties of vulnerability and misinterpretation for the authors" (1990, p. 11).

"Taking reflexivity as the starting point of a feminist enquiry..." (Burman, 1990, p. 9), I feel that it is crucial to make myself visible in this writing. This account is of necessity, a personal one. I am as much a subject of this training as the participants.[2]

My experiences as a woman in a male domain; the issues I faced; the perspectives I brought into the work and my personal explorations, are crucial to include, as urged by Kaschak (1992, p. 18), or I would compromise the feminism inherent in the training approach.

1.2.2 USE OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

The use of the pronoun 'we' in this document, refers to the work that the facilitators collectively executed. However, this text is entirely my work. Many of the ideas that I elucidate, originated with me and were discussed, adopted, and incorporated into this project. I was the co-ordinator, and ultimate responsibility rested with me. When I use the pronoun 'I' in this document, I am referring to work conducted independently, or to personal reflections, observations and opinions.

[2] "I am a tool, a resource I can draw upon, in presenting and representing the Other to you. Because you the reader, are the most unknown of Others" (Rothman, 1996, p. 54).

1.3 HISTORY OF REQUEST FROM POLLSMOOR PRISON

In December 2000, the Secretary of the Institutional Committee and the Head of the 'Investigation Unit' working at the Admissions Centre of Pollsmoor, approached Rape Crisis Cape Town, requesting assistance in a project to address the issue of rape [3] in prison.

Their request highlighted the silence surrounding rape in the male 'Maximum Security' section of the prison and the inadequacy of services available for the few men who report rape or sexual assault. "Although the Department of Correctional Services see to the direct needs of the inmates, there is no sufficient support system in place to help them cope with this ordeal" (extract from letter of request).

The request was for Rape Crisis' assistance in starting an awareness campaign, or training of counsellors, within the prison. Rape Crisis was concerned about the enormity of the proposed task; aware that the organisation did not have the capacity required to undertake a 'needs assessment' and implement consequent recommendations. Within a number of exploratory meetings, preparatory actions were urged: additional investigation within Pollsmoor, support from prison authorities, delineating the limitations of existing policies and protocols, and exploring aims and objectives that could viably be met by Rape Crisis. The initial request was refined: Rape Crisis was asked to provide workshops or "information sessions on the effects of sodomy/ rape and how to deal with the victims in the correct and empathic way" (extract from letter of request).

During the Interim period, a group named 'Friends against Abuse' ('Friends') was constituted within 'Male Admissions'. The informal organisation consisted of concerned warders and inmates. The basic criterion for membership of 'Friends' was that inmates approached individuals for assistance and advice, by virtue of their professional role/ service within the prison or as a result of their leadership qualities.

'Friends' initiated a play about rape within prison, awareness-raising posters and a 'Safe-Cell' in a section of the prison that housed sentenced inmates. 'Rape survivors'[4] and those vulnerable to

[3] Borrowing Scarce's working definition, in the absence of adequate legal terminology, I define rape as: "...any penetration of a person's mouth, anus, or vagina, by a penis or any other object, without that person's consent" (1997, p. 7). Even if the sexual act appears consensual and physical violence is absent – coercion, manipulation, threats of intimidation, abuse of a position of authority, are sufficient to name an incident 'rape'.

[4] 'Victim' remains a technical term to define a person against whom a crime has been committed. This passive description precludes personal agency and control. Therefore, feminists have advocated for the more active term of 'rape survivor'. It encompasses acknowledgment that a person who has been raped, has succeeded in surviving a brutal attack on his/ her entire being. It serves to offer her/ him a measure of dignity, empowerment, strength and hope.

sexual abuse were offered protective custody within this cell. 'Friends' also participated in an HIV/ AIDS awareness campaign within the prison. For the first time within the history of Pollsmoor, condoms were made available to inmates.

'Friends' started to work in the Reception area of the prison. They identified men who seemed vulnerable to rape; provided information to orientate newcomers to jail, and prepared them for possible challenges. They asked new inmates if they were survivors of rape, and if they needed protection in the form of placement within the 'Safe Cell'.

Within Rape Crisis during this same period, there was debate as to whether the organisation was equipped and ideologically willing to tackle this request. These challenges are summarised below.

1.4 CHALLENGES TO RAPE CRISIS

"At what point is working within the system selling out on our politics?"
(Burman, 1990, p. 193).

Burman's (1990) question eloquently voices the dilemma faced by Rape Crisis as a feminist organisation, in their consideration of working with men within prison.

Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) founded in 1976 in an attempt to address violence against women. Over the years, as different organisations emerged to address specific problems of women, such as domestic violence, Rape Crisis was able to focus on rape and sexual assault. The organisation continues to define itself as a feminist organisation offering a service predominantly to women, and seeking to challenge the oppression of women. (Rape Crisis' Mission Statement, see Appendix B3.)

The organisation had to consider whether working within male sectors of Pollsmoor could be perceived as contradictory to its aims:

- Would working with perpetrators of sexual assault compromise its integrity or reputation within communities and organisations in Cape Town?
- Would resources required for service delivery be diverted away from the needs of women?
- Would the organisation have the capacity to continue work in this arena if they received similar requests from other state organisations?
- Was Rape Crisis the most appropriate organisation to do such work, given that its experience and expertise lay in working with women, not men?

It was concluded that the request from Pollsmoor would be conditionally accepted. The work would be tackled as an exploratory pilot project. Rape Crisis would reflect on the evaluations and recommendations from the training, and consider ramifications for the future.

Consultants were employed to co-ordinate and document the work. The challenges we faced as individuals, were similar to those faced by the organisation.

1.5 CHALLENGES TO FEMINIST CONSULTANTS

Over the years, definitions of feminism have changed and been challenged (Brabeck, 2000), pertinently within an African context. Ganguly describes feminism as a "complex, multi-layered and ever-evolving phenomenon" (1996, p. 103), perceptions and experiences of which are influenced by class, ethnicity and family circumstances.

The definitions that follow serve to elucidate the understanding of feminism that we shared as consultants. They informed our methods of research and training, and influenced the style and content of this dissertation.

hooks defines feminism as "a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation and oppression" (2000, p. viii). She emphasises that the 'enemy' is not men, but sexism evidenced in numerous forms, found both within institutions and each individual, for example (1991, p. 94).

Bennet's definition cited by Swartz (2001), expands this definition:

1. Feminism recognises the salience of gender, and gender relations, to social organization
2. It explores the effects of this salience, in interaction with other forces – class relations, race relations – on multiple areas of human interaction
3. It identifies the interaction between the flow of these forces and patterns of injustice and abuse
4. It determines to work towards counteracting injustice
5. African feminisms, in addition to the above, have a particular focus on colonialism in African contexts.

Traditionally, feminist trainers and clinicians have had an uneasy relationship with state organisations. In agreeing to work within Pollsmoor as consultants, we knew that our personal boundaries and professional capacities would be stretched.

We comprised a group of three women, with complementary qualifications and professional experience. We represented different racial categories and sexual preferences. We knew that dynamics of gender, class, race and sexual orientation would be challenged within the training.

Professionally, we were all working within a realm in which we had limited experience, as we had previously chosen to work predominantly with women. We wondered if the feminist methods of

training and therapy familiar to us, would be appropriate and applicable to men, and perpetrators of sexual violence particularly. We aimed to sustain empathy and preserve personal and professional integrity throughout the process of training.

1.6 AIMS AND GOALS OF TRAINING

We believed that clarity about our role and purpose within Pollsmoor was crucial to the success of our training (Knox, 1996). As per the initial request, we identified broad objectives in the planning stages of our work. These were refined and altered throughout the research process. This cohesive summary (adapted from Harvey, 2001), is retrospective.

1.6.1 ARTICULATED AIMS

- To learn about rape in prison and Rape Trauma Syndrome in relation to men.
- To explore power dynamics within the prison system, i.e. between prisoners, staff and the outside world.
- To look at masculinity as a social construct; its intersections with race and class and its link to rape in prison.
- To equip course members with information regarding rape, by introducing the concept that rape is an act of violence and demonstration of power, where sex is used as a tool. Additionally, to provide information regarding definitions of rape and the context of rape in society and prison.
- To explore the consequences of rape for men and share knowledge about Rape Trauma Syndrome.
- To train empathic listeners. This would involve ensuring that each person examined his/ her potential abuses of power and knowledge. Ethical considerations would necessarily be dominant throughout the programme.
- To equip 'Friends' to be facilitators, able to tackle preventative tasks in prison, such as education campaigns, awareness programmes, orientation and education of warders. To begin thinking about creating ways to spread this information within the prison system.
- To work towards setting up reliable and effective referral networks for rape survivors, both in and out of prison.
- To help develop protocols and policies to assist rape survivors in prison. These would serve as guidelines to be used by Correctional Services staff and members of 'Friends'.
- To instigate mechanisms for sustaining the process once our involvement had ended. This would involve consideration of policies, procedures, protocols, and organisational development for 'Friends'; and encouragement and facilitation of co-operation and assistance from other NGOs and professionals.

1.6.2 LESS ARTICULATED/ UNDERLYING AIMS

- To test feminist methodology and practice in working with men.
- To evoke introspection and challenge attitudes that lead to violence.

As facilitators, our hope was that if the training directly or indirectly led to a woman or child being spared violence, we would have succeeded in our underlying aim of reducing violence in society. If our training gave one male participant additional insight into the ways he might be complicit in the abuse of others; if he changed such behaviour and/ or contributed to other men examining their own behaviour, we reflected that we could feel gratified.

Tucker eloquently explains prisons' contribution to the cycle of violence in society:

> I know from other victims of prison rape how the male seeks compensation for the trauma of total loss of control, by striking back and asserting control, as it was lost in violence, so it is regained in violence. It may be that the most serious consequence of prison rape to society is that it takes non-violent offenders and turns them into people with a high potential for violence, full of rage and eager to take vengeance on the society which they hold responsible for their utter humiliation and loss of manhood. If they do not turn their frustrated rage against themselves – they may turn it on the world outside, perhaps become rapists themselves in a desperate attempt to regain their manhood (Tucker, 1981, p. 5).

1.7 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The following chapter includes a description of the prison in which the research and training was conducted. It provides a context within which the concerns articulated above, can be understood. Similarly, the literature review summarises pertinent themes contained in contemporary writings on the rape of men within prison.

Chapter 3 is a theoretical overview of the particular methodologies employed in this research. The history and characteristics of Participatory Action Research and Experiential Training, are outlined. Contributions from psychodynamic thinking, and feminist ethics that informed and guided the intervention, are introduced. Chapter 4 elaborates on *how* these theoretical methods and techniques were applied to investigations used to equip us for this training. It contains an explanation of the strategies we adopted to ensure effective implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the project.

Findings from this preparation phase are elucidated within Chapter 5. Incorporated, are descriptions of how the resulting information served to inform and guide the intervention – the aims, content and structure of the training. The programme itself is described in Chapter 6. An overview of the training is followed by analyses of two consecutive workshops, describing the processes of reflection and action that characterised the intervention. It concludes with reflections on participant evaluations of the training as a whole, and considerations of the sustainability of the initiative.

The discussions in Chapter 7 focus on our experiences as women working with men and the emotional effects of this work. It considers the impact of sexism, homophobia and other forms of oppression within a prison context. The influences of a feminist agenda informing training, are raised. In conclusion, certain recommendations to other women considering work within this arena, are offered.

CHAPTER 2 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

2.1 PERTINENT DESCRIPTIONS OF POLLSMOOR PRISON

Core structural components and pertinent aspects and procedures operating within Pollsmoor prison, are delineated in this section. As consultants external to Pollsmoor, we formed pictures of the context of prison life through multifaceted explorations. The information we gathered was characterised by paradox – often contradictory, sometimes limited and constantly changing. Certain information was offered confidentially. Therefore, this summary is not comprehensive and may contain inadvertent inaccuracies. It is intended as a preliminary orientation to an extraordinarily complex system. Information is elaborated within subsequent chapters.[5]

All South African prisons fall under the control and directives of the national government's 'Department of Correctional Services' (DCS). Their motto is "We serve with pride". (Refer to Appendix A2 for 'DCS Credo' and Appendix A1 for 'Mission Statement'.) Pollsmoor, situated within the Cape Town suburb of 'Tokai', is one of thirty prisons in the Western Cape Province. (See Appendix A4 for list of Western Cape Prisons.)

Pollsmoor consists of five different complexes, referred to within the institution as 'prisons', located in separate buildings on the premises. Each complex houses a different category of prisoner.

As there are proportionally far fewer female than male prisoners, there is only one facility for women within Pollsmoor.[6] This 'Women's Prison' contains sentenced and awaiting trial females – both adult and juvenile.

In contrast, there are four units for male prisoners. Men between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one, classified as 'juveniles', are housed within the section known as 'Medium Security A'. Sentenced adult males reside within 'Medium Security B'. Approximately six months before inmates are due for release from prison on 'parole' or under 'correctional supervision', male inmates from Pollsmoor and other local prisons, are moved to the 'Medium Security C', or the 'Pre-release' unit.

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[5] The three major sources of the information contained below were observations derived from increased familiarity with, and exposure to the prison itself; Information from members of the group 'Friends Against Abuse'; and *Prison conditions in South Africa*, produced by Africa Watch Prison Project (referred to as AWPP) in 1994.

[6] This appears consistent with trends around the world. Refer to Africa Watch Prison Project, 1994; Lloyd, 1995; Collier, 1998; Girshick, 2000; and Roux, 2002 for elaboration.

Our research and training activities were focused within the forth unit, the 'Male Admissions Centre', otherwise known as 'Maximum Security'. Currently, the term 'Male Admissions Centre' is preferred by many who work or reside within its walls. This term conveys fewer of the historical associations with detention without trial, and is therefore less emotionally evocative than that of 'Maximum Security'. In addition, it describes the function of this sector of the prison more accurately. Adult men awaiting trial are housed within this facility, in addition to prisoners sentenced for violent crimes and those serving charges as a result of escape attempts or other violations of prison rules, where additional security measures are deemed necessary.

Men are admitted into 'Male Admissions' through the 'Reception Centre'. After transportation in police vans from courts, police stations and other prison facilities, men are placed in one of a number of holding cells. Warders attempt to separate gangsters from non-gangsters, but this is often a difficult task, as they rely predominantly on gangsters' identifying themselves as such. From the central administrative area, new inmates are 'processed' with the aid of computers and reference to records. Each new inmate is assigned to a designated section of the prison, as follows:

A	prisoners with straightforward sentences
B1, B2	maximum security units for sentenced prisoners
C1, C2, D1, D2, D3, E1, E2, E3	unsentenced prisoners
FC – 'Further Charges'	sentenced prisoners with other cases pending

The Admissions Centre is over two hundred percent overcrowded. Figures change considerably from month to month, partly due to the movement of prisoners between institutions. Statistics from November 2001 showed that this centre was originally designed to hold one thousand, six hundred inmates. However, the number of inmates at the time totalled three thousand, three hundred and thirty. (See Table 1, p.12.)

Overcrowding is a distinctive feature of most South African prisons, and one for which Pollsmoor is notorious. However, renovations were accommodated within the DCS' budget for 2001. Renovations proceed, unfortunately frequently resulting in disruption to supplies of electricity, water, and other services within an already overburdened facility. Despite attempts to upgrade, the prison is characterised by colourless concrete passages, narrow slits of windows and steel gates. Some walls have recently been painted, notably with murals or passages from biblical texts. Nevertheless, inmates we spoke to, frequently commented on the lack of sensory stimulation.

TABLE 1: STATISTICS — MALE ADMISSIONS CENTRE, POLLSMOOR

MALE ADMISSIONS	NOV 2001	APRIL 2002
Designed to hold	1 600 inmates	1 600 inmates
Total number of inmates	3 330	2 970
Unsentenced/ Awaiting Trial	2 510	2 358
Sentenced	850	612
Total number of warders (on shift)	360 warders	
Security warders (on shift)	200	
Administration warders	160	

Roux captures the icy essence of the institution in a few immaculate words: "The winter in Maximum never really relents. There is no sun, ever, that shines onto the cells, and the sunshine in the quad only lasts for a couple of hours during the warden's tea break" (2002, p. 8).

Living conditions are generally experienced as harsh. Men live in single or communal cells. The description 'single cell' is a misnomer. Due to overcrowding, and as a measure of safety for its occupants, three men typically occupy these cells. Reportedly, it was envisaged by the authorities that the addition of a third party might serve a protective function if conflict between two inmates resulted in overt aggression.

Communal or dormitory cells were built to accommodate seventeen to twenty-nine inmates. Currently, anything from thirty to fifty men sleep in these cells. Mats are unrolled at night, and blankets are provided as bedding. One toilet, basin and shower are available for the use of all cellmates. Furniture ranges from sparse to non-existent (AWPP, 1994, p. 12).

Access to facilities and services is, in practice, largely negotiated amongst inmates. Officially, inmates are ranked according to different criteria, with corresponding rights and privileges.

All prisoners entering prison, come in at the 'B Group' level. Unsentenced inmates hold this status throughout the duration of their imprisonment. These awaiting trial prisoners make up the largest proportion of the prison population – 2 510 out of a total of 3 330 in November 2001. (Refer to Table 1.) Their rights include wearing their own clothes, and being entitled to more visits than most sentenced inmates. However, men can be incarcerated for up to four years while awaiting trial.

A common complaint within the prison, is inadequate medical care. The hospital section, which caters for both sentenced and unsentenced inmates within Male Admissions, had the following medical staff in November 2001: Eight male nurses were permanently employed; one psychiatrist, an indeterminate number of doctors and dentists were employed part-time, on 'contract'.

The ratio of warders[7] to inmates is similarly disproportionate. In February 2002, a total of four hundred warders with 'security' job descriptions, as opposed to administrative roles, were employed within this sector, working different shifts. This tends to exacerbate already stressful working conditions. Warders' hours of work are long and their financial remuneration is not competitive. Within 'Male Admissions', warders are not armed. They hold authority, although they too fall within a hierarchical system, "within an ultra masculine military culture, with strict ranking and chains of command ...squeezed between supervising and guarding prisoners, while at the same time being under surveillance themselves by internal investigation units and their superiors..." (Roux, 2002, p. 11).

Despite various attempts by prison authorities to curb the extent of their influence and control, gangs within prison exercise enormous power – actual and perceived – derived from their historical reputation and witnessed actions. (For elaboration, see Vogelman, 1993; Pinnock and Douglas-Hamilton, 1997; Hofmeyer and Nair, 1999; Redpath, 2001.)

As articulated by AWPP: "Prison life in South Africa is characterised by an elaborate (and distinctive) system of gangs, through which much prisoner–prisoner violence is mediated" (1994, p. 43). The dominant gangs within Pollsmoor are referred to as the 'number gangs', namely 26's, 27's and 28's. They form part of a national network that spans all South African prisons.[8] These 'number gangs' are characterised by elaborate hierarchical structures with corresponding ranks, duties and codes of conduct. As AWPP remarks, these structures mimic the militaristic structures of prison administrations themselves. The most dominant gang "imposes its own discipline beneath that of the prison authorities" (1994, p. 45), and provides a form of support and structure to inmates, particularly those serving extended sentences.

[7] Within Male Admissions in Pollsmoor, inmates use the term 'warders' to refer to state employees with custodial roles over prisoners. However, prison staff refer to one another as 'Members'. This terminology is congruent with attempts to democratise the system that operates within Pollsmoor. I have chosen to use the term 'warders', as it was the term I heard most frequently. It is likely to be more familiar to most readers, than 'members.'

[8] We were informed that allegiances and affiliations to gangs outside of prison are not maintained within this internal system. Ostensibly even long-standing 'outside' conflicts between competing gang members are put aside once men enter the prison. This is not always strictly accurate, however.

Specific body markings and language codes serve to distinguish gang members. Each gang is defined according to the aim or 'work' it is designed to fulfil: Members of the 26's work with money. "It is associated with cunning, obtaining money and other goods by (various) means" (AWPP, p. 44). The 27's are known as the 'killer' gang. Its members "look for blood" (personal communication). Within Pollsmoor, it has the smallest number of members in its ranks. 28 is the largest, most dominant and notorious gang within Pollsmoor. Its 'code' is that of rape. However, it is not the only gang that has a system of 'wyfies' and institutionalised sex practices. (For elaboration, see Gear and Ngubeni, 2002.) The majority of inmates in Pollsmoor do not belong to these gangs. They are termed 'Frans' or 'Franse'.[9]

Their institutional power and status is considerably less than that of the gangs'. However, relationships between 'Frans' and gangsters can be cordial, and co-operation is possible. Within Pollsmoor currently, there are a number of men who appear to bridge the categories of 'Frans' and gangsters. They refer to themselves as 'ex- gangsters'.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

"The rape of men in our communities is perhaps the most underreported and unaddressed violent crime"
(Scarce, 1997, p. 9).

2.2.1 OVERVIEW

The previous section contained information that described Pollsmoor. In order to provide additional context for the work described in this document, a perusal of the most recent literature on the rape of men follows. Relevant literature on the rape of men within prisons, is extracted, with a specific focus on South Africa.

Some authors provide interesting discussions on the rape of men outside a prison context. These considerations are included where they contribute to a discourse on the consequences of rape for men. Similarly, within the vast literature regarding the rape of women, I draw out only references which are relevant to the rape of men. Although this dissertation is infused with references to and contributions by feminist writers, a critique of feminist literature is beyond the scope of this paper.

This overview does not encompass a review of training programmes within prisons, as such documentation, with a feminist focus, is noticeably limited. I located only one article written by a

[9] Inmates and warders to whom I spoke, were unaware of the historical origins of the term 'Franse'. Some suggested that it was coined by warders, in order to validate non-gangsters' sense of identity. I heard a hypothesis that 'Frans' might have originated in contrast to the gang titles that use countries as a source of identification, such as the 'Americans'

woman working within predominately male prisons (Knox, 1996). This could reflect the limited number of women who work in all-male institutions; however, it may simply demonstrate the lack of accessible documentation.

2.2.2 HISTORICAL EXISTENCE OF THE RAPE OF ADULT MEN

"In some respects the situation facing male rape victims today is not so different from that which faced female victims about two centuries ago"
(Estrich, 1986, extract from: *Real Rape*).

The rape of men is not a new phenomenon. Through a review of international media articles, Scarce demonstrates that the "...practice of men raping men occurs around the world in practically every environment..." (1997, p.3). Nevertheless, a general awareness that men can be, have been, and will be raped, has remained denied or neglected. Historically, society, represented in existing legal and medical systems, media representations and the attitudes of individuals – has paid little attention to addressing this reality (Donaldson, 1990; Vogelman, 1990; Scarce, 1997). The rape of men by men still remains shrouded by taboos and secrecy (Donaldson, 1993).

It is partially due to the lack of a cohesive political movement, that the rape of men remains invisible. Only through careful and consistent advocacy and scholarship within the last twenty years, have women raised awareness and developed services for women who have been raped. The struggle towards the creation of sensitive and effective services for female rape survivors, and the dispelling of societal myths that perpetuate the rape of women, continues to date.

Feminist theorists and activists have tended to focus on the rape of women, who are believed to comprise over ninety percent of the targets of rape (Scarce, 1997). Despite historical definitions of feminism as "by women, for women", it was *feminist* contributions that first recognised the existence of the rape of *men*, and raised the issue as pertinent (Estrich, 1986). In Brownmiller's (1975) feminist book titled: *Against our will,* she included an essay on the same-sex rape of men in prisons, connecting the differences in power that characterise the rape of women, as parallel to the power differentials within same-sex institutions. "The development and dissemination of the idea that rape is an exercise in power began to shed light on the rape of men as well" (Scarce, 1997, p. 12).

Academics began to recognise that men were being sexually assaulted by other men (Donaldson, 1990); research emerged sporadically, and as a result men outside of prison contexts gradually began to step forward and acknowledge their rape in different settings. It became generally agreed that the number of men raped, was high. (Scacco, 1982, provides a good summary of conflicting statistics generated from the 1970s.) Significantly, however, this growing public

acknowledgement, pertains mostly to Western Europe and North America (Herman, 1997). The prevalence of the rape of men in most other parts of the world, remains predominantly invisible.

In South Africa too, the incidence of the rape of men remains unrecorded and obscured (Donaldson, 1990; Vogelman and Lewis, 1993; Scarce, 1997). Crime statistics annually gathered by the South African Police Service (SAPS), do not reflect the number of men who report rape. This is, of course, congruent with the exclusion of men from the legal definition of rape that is currently operative (see Appendix B1). Currently, the limited number of men that have officially reported being raped, would be represented within national statistics as having experienced 'sexual assault'.

Official statistics are not reputed to reliably represent the incidence of rape, partially due to the stigma, shame and secondary traumatisation accompanying the reporting of such incidents (Rape Crisis Cape Town; Herman, 1997; Satcher, 2001). Nevertheless, an absence of qualitative data is generally interpreted to mean that the problem simply does not exist (Donaldson, 1995; Scarce, 1997). Legal definitions of rape that exclude the possibility of men being raped, perpetuate the popular misconception that rape is a form of violence committed only against women; and that men, in fact, *can not* be raped.

The silence that surrounds the rape of men is reinforced and supported by discourses of patriarchy, particularly the prevailing culture of masculinity. A large body of literature explores the ways in which men have traditionally been expected to defend their own boundaries and limits while maintaining control of their bodies (Chodorow, 1979; Newton, 1994; Knox, 1996). When men are raped by other men, these boundaries are violated and the concept of masculinity itself is threatened. Instead of questioning this tenuous construction, society tends to silence survivors and negate their existence.

As articulated by Scarce, this lack of visibility "reinforces the male rape survivors' sense of isolation, and the cycle of silence is perpetuated" (1997, p. 10). It is therefore encouraging that a revised definition of rape that crucially incorporates men, currently waits to be tabled within the South African parliament. (Refer to Appendix B2.) A challenge might be to ensure that the rape of men *within prisons,* is not omitted from national SAPS statistics of rape and sexual assault, as is reported to occur within the United States of America (USA) (Donaldson, 1995; Scarce, 1997).

2.2.3 BROAD CRITIQUE OF AVAILABLE LITERATURE ON THE RAPE OF MEN BY MEN

Little has been published on the rape of adult males. In contrast, there is a vast body of documentation discussing childhood sexual abuse and the rape of boys. Porter (1986) offers a

summary of these studies that emerged within the 1980s. Donaldson (1995) emphasises that even the 'Men's Movement' has ignored the rape of adults. The subject of the rape of adult men remains under-researched, despite a few insightful contributions, beginning with the writings of Scacco in 1975, which were accompanied by strong recommendations that further attention be focused on this topic. The lack of response to these recommendations, is glaring (Donaldson, 1995).

Media portrayals of the rape of men are frequently insensitive, sensationalised, or written in a 'blame-the-victim' tone (Scarce, 1997). Voyeurism is evidenced in the dominance of prison scenes within gay pornography. However, similar criticisms can be levelled at more academic texts too. Burman significantly emphasises the "(sexual-) political processes involved in *(the)* production..." of all research (1990, p. 8).

A perusal of available recent literature highlights themes consistent with Scarce's (1997) and Vogelman's (1990, 1993) observations of trends within such writing. The existing research is fraught with methodological and ideological problems, yielding conflicting results and contradictory conclusions. The majority of research is quantitative, undoubtedly reflecting the prevailing adherence to a positivist scientific approach (Burman *et al*, 1990; Morley and Walsh *et al*, 1995; Brabeck *et al*, 2000).

Much literature is written in inaccessible academic language. The tone of such texts is detached and impersonal, for example the theoretical philosophical text: *A most detestable crime* (1999), edited by Burgess-Jackson. As Scarce observes: "Research has focused on secondary sources of a professional's interpretation of male rape cases rather than information obtained directly from the survivor" (1997, p. 14). Therefore, the majority of research on the rape of adult men has focused, albeit inadequately, on therapeutic treatment within institutional settings, with scant consideration of social and cultural forces that contribute to its cause and perpetuation.

Exceptions include a book by Groth (1979) entitled *Men who rape*, in which rape in contexts outside of institutions, is considered; and McMullen's (1990) book – *Male rape: Breaking the silence on the last taboo.* McMullen uses case studies, and the book elicits a corresponding emotional resonance. He attempts social explanations for rape behaviour, and offers a discussion about possible consequences for rape survivors. However, even this text tends to 'scratch the surface' of the subject.

It was in response to these perceived inadequacies, that Scarce (1997) wrote his contribution to the topic, simply titled: *Male on male rape.* Scarce sensitively succeeds in achieving his goal,

namely to fill a void in the existing body of literature. In this clear and precise book, he ambitiously aims to answer the question of why so little attention has been paid to this subject, and to open a dialogue that generates solutions to the invisibility and silence surrounding the rape of men. He successfully adopts an interdisciplinary analysis that examines complexities of sexuality, gender and violence. Through the inclusion of case studies, he demonstrates the diverse reactions men experience after being raped, and suggests the creation of initiatives to address the problems. His work has been widely acclaimed.

The most significant achievement of Scarce's work, in my opinion, is his inclusion of discussions on homosexuality from the perspective of a gay man. He considers homophobia as a form of oppression that plays a key role in perpetuating rape behaviour and contributes towards the general invisibility of the problem of male rape. Pertinently, Scarce observes: "Through an inability to distinguish sex from rape, our society often treats same-sex rape with the same disgust and hatred as homosexuality" (1997, p. 10). Donaldson (1990) similarly observes that the phrase 'homosexual rape' is often used to designate the rape of men by men. They thus highlight two dominant myths that surround the topic of the rape of men: that rapists of men are necessarily homosexual, and that being raped turns victims into 'homosexuals'.

Homophobia and the conflation of homosexual sex and the rape of men, is evidenced within much literature on the subject of male rape. Cooke, Baldwin and Howison (1990) dedicate a minor section of their book: *Psychology in prisons*, to a superficial consideration of sexual assault and rape. They incorrectly and inappropriately use the term "homosexual rape" (1990, pp. 20 – 23) with reference to all rape within prison. They explain all sexual coercion as stemming from male inmates' innate, but previously unrecognised 'homosexual tendencies'. Confusions and prejudices surrounding the rape of men, are likely to be amplified within literature regarding penal institutions, which have been marginalised within society.

In contrast, Scarce (1997) seriously discusses issues of homophobia, sexism, misogyny and masculinity, and their intersection. Under the auspices of a California-based NGO called 'Stop Prisoner Rape' (SPR – http://www.spr.org), Donaldson (1990, 1993, 1995 and 1997). similarly links these themes.

A crucial body of literature continues to emerge through the efforts of this organisation. Updated information and interactive sites are available on the Internet, facilitating discussion amongst rape survivors themselves (spr.org/docs/prisonletters.html). SPR continues to provide education, advocacy and training designed to combat the rape of prisoners. In 1993, a pioneering approach to prisoner rape was launched, called 'Prisoner Rape Education Project' – PREP. Two audiotapes

and a manual offering preventative information and practical advice to rape survivors and prison staff, were produced (Donaldson, 1997). SPR's set of innovative work, offers unparalleled contributions to the subject of the rape of adult men in prison, valuably adding to a discourse on the rape of men.

2.2.4 RESEARCH ON THE RAPE OF MEN IN PRISONS

Consistent with the trend towards quantitative research, in 2001, the New York- based advocacy group 'Human Right's Watch' (HRW), published a report on the rape of men within US penal institutions, the result of five years of research (Elliott, 2001). The study claimed that up to a fifth of inmates had experienced non-consensual sex, which corresponds with previously published estimates (Donaldson, 1997). Most existing documentation on the rape of men in prisons stems from the USA. Results are therefore difficult to generalise to other countries. Not withstanding such limitations, the literature *does* concur that rape is a well-known fact of life for inmates (Elliott, 2001; Gear, 2001; Satcher, 2001; SPR, 2002).

Although much more research has been conducted on prison rape than the rape of men in other communities (Scarce, 1997), in South Africa, documentation on the prevalence of the rape of men by men within these institutions, is limited or absent. This corresponds with a general lack of documentation regarding the DCS, presumably stemming from restrictions on the dissemination of information initiated within the Apartheid era (AWPP, 1994).

A number of Human Rights organisations, notably SAPOHR (South African Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights) and African Watch Prison Project (1994), claim to have monitored and exposed human rights violations within South African prisons, urging for the reform of the Criminal Justice System and particularly the DCS. Lists of abuses they have highlighted include those of assault, discrimination, gang activity and inadequate essential services (SAPOHR-users.iafrica.com/s/sa/sapohr). However, rape and sexual violence are conspicuously absent, or cursorily mentioned. For example, sexual assault in Pollsmoor is described within the AWPP text as "general and routine" (1994, p.46), mentioned as part of gang-related assaults, but not explored further.

This description is consistent with SPR literature that testifies to the institutionalisation of rape as an accepted part of prison subculture (Donaldson, 1990, 1993). This relative dismissal of the reality of prison rape, could, however, also constitute evidence of society's general opinion that prisoners somehow deserve whatever abuse they receive behind bars (Scarce, 1997). Public responses to male rape in prisons incorporate fear, disgust and denial (Donaldson, 1995), and a paradoxical voyeuristic fascination. This perspective is consistent with the psychodynamically

informed hypotheses of Obholzer (1994) and Stokes (1994), who posit that prisons serve a particular function in society – that of containing society's anxiety.

Research within this field has only recently begun to be produced in South Africa, as the work of organisations such as the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) and the Centre for Conflict Resolution (CCR –ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za) has drawn public attention to this issue. For example, the pioneering documentary *Cage of Dreams* (Bestall and Joubert, 2001), in documenting a CCR-Pollsmoor training initiative, highlighted the code of rape within the 'number gangs'. This indirectly resulted in a wave of public and professional attention.

In addition, the AIDS pandemic has generated activism resulting in new approaches to the rape of men in prisons in South Africa, as has occurred in other countries (spr.org/docs/prep-pr_July2001.html; Jolofani and DeGabriele, n.d.; Raufu, 1999). One of the first South African papers on the subject, was presented at an international conference: *AIDS in context* (Gear, 2001). CSVR have recently undertaken further research into prison rape, titled: *Daai Ding: Sex, sexual violence and coercion in men's prisons* (Gear and Ngubèni, 2002). It is yet to be published.

Emerging literature promises to offer valuable, culturally relevant insights. However, discussion in the few documents currently available, is severely limited. They too contain a confabulation of rape and 'homosexual behaviour' (AWPP, 1994, p. 16 and p. 44), which supports Scarce's (1997) observations. An additional critique highlights weaknesses regarding the definitions of 'rape' within prisons, a major methodological shortcoming.

A number of researchers have emphasised the difficulty of drawing sharp distinctions between rape and other forms of prison sexuality (Hayson, 1981; Tucker, 1991; Donaldson, 1995, Gear, 2001; Kupers, 2001; and Sabo *et al*, 2001). They refer to perpetrators' uses of a combination of physical force, intimidation and enticement to maintain relationships of power and control over their victim/s. Unable to escape from the site of continuous trauma (Evans, 2000), sustained psychological manipulations and seductions can keep victims dependent on perpetrators. Victims of sexual assault can grow to consider the perpetrators of their abuse, paradoxically, as lovers, saviours or friends. Literature on the dynamics operating in situations of domestic violence (such as Herman's contributions, 1997) can usefully be extrapolated and applied to prison contexts. However, in-depth considerations of the subtle overlap between coercion, consent and complicity, are predominantly absent within contemporary prison literature.

In one attempt to redress this inadequacy, Eigenberg (2000) examines warders' definitions of what constitutes the rape of men within prisons, and explores factors influencing such

assessments. Similar investigations of the circumstances in which sex occurs in prisons, are needed within a South African context, as increased understanding could inform appropriate interventions. CSVR's awaited research promises to begin to fill this gap.

2.2.4.1 WHY DOES RAPE OCCUR IN PRISONS?

"... Men from working class communities and men of colour end up in front of the courts for pursuing the very forms of masculinity that our culture applauds in a whole variety of ways..."
(Roux, 2002, p. 18).

In his reflection, Roux introduces three salient themes that are incorporated in the literature on the rape of men in prison. These themes are expanded in attempts to account for why such abuse occurs: considerations of a 'culture of rape', informed by the socially reinforced notion of 'masculinity' and influenced by socio-economic status.

Vogelman (1990) and Vogelman and Lewis (1993) offer sensitive and accessible contributions towards an 'untangling' of the strands of social variables of prejudice that contribute towards the creation and maintenance of a 'culture of rape' within South Africa. Incorporated in the popular use of this phrase, is recognition that rape in society is received with extraordinary degrees of acceptability. Vogelman (1990) refers to rape as a component of the 'war culture' that dominates contemporary South Africa, in which violence is tacitly accepted as a legitimate solution to conflict. Although South Africa has been informally referred to as the 'rape capital of the world' (Rape Crisis Cape Town, 2001), numerous feminist activists have applied this term to other geographical contexts. They emphasise that patriarchal society is suffused with beliefs in male supremacy, dominance and aggression. This results in a culture that condones sexual violence, "wielded as a tool for the subordination and control of those with less power in our society" (Rubenstein in Scarce, 1997, p. xvii).

As previously stressed, rape is fundamentally understood as a demonstration of power, its purpose being to undermine another's autonomy and dignity (Herman, 1997). Prison rape is predominantly explained within the literature as a form of aggressive sexual activity in order to validate masculine status (Donaldson, 1990; Gear, 2001). When incarcerated and deprived of almost all power over one's own life, a degree of identity and control is reclaimed through the assertion of 'masculinity' that rape encompasses. Donaldson (1993) suggests that rape could actually be considered an act of rebellion against the institution itself, in that it violates prison prohibitions against (homosexual) sex. However, this assertion requires careful examination, as it, too, could incorporate a confabulation of forced sex and (homo)sexual activity.

Salo (2000) is one South African writer who has succeeded in locating sexual violence within a context that seriously considers variables of socio-economic status and the social constructions of 'maleness'. She explains her understanding of gang rape as an institutionalised display of masculinity, recognising that, "*(a)*t the same time, its socialised quality is also a manifestation of the gang members' loyalty to each other as men on the margins" (Salo, 2000, p. 9). Structures and codes of gang systems are understood to be contributory factors motivating or sustaining rape behaviour (Gear, 2001).

Donaldson (1993) stresses that rape is an entrenched tradition within such all-male, authoritarian environments, legitimised by prisoners and tacitly condoned by prison authorities. Prison is described as a self-contained society, with particular social roles, value systems, hierarchies of domination, and behavioural norms set by the highest ranking gangs or subcultures (Donaldson, 1990; Scarce, 1997, Gear, 2001). The code that permeates prison culture, although it changes across time and within different countries, is universally based on intimidation. Rape is therefore part of a larger phenomenon in prison, namely the ranking of prisoners in a hierarchy by their fighting ability to prove their 'manhood' (Kupers, 2001). Sex is a documented 'currency' within prisons (Kola *et al*, 1997).

Institutional factors that contribute to causing prison rape, include the lack of work and recreational activities, and extreme overcrowding (Jolofani and De Gabriele, n.d.) with consequent lack of privacy and "mental decompensation" (Kupers, 2001, p. 5). Repeatedly, sheer boredom in prison, is stressed as an important motivating factor in rape behaviour (Hayson, 1981; Tucker, 1981; Cooke, Baldwin and Howison, 1990).

Numerous authors have documented the tolerance or complicity of authorities regarding gang activities (AWPP, 1994; Kupers, 2001), notably sexual assault. Within South African literature, warders' inefficacy, indifference, corruption and active involvement, are posited as contributing to the high incidence of sexual assault within prison walls (Vogelman, 1993; Kola *et al*, 1997; Gear, 2001).

It has been postulated that rape in prison, may, in part, be motivated by a desire for sexual gratification. However, despite a recognition of the need for human intimacy that underlies sexual drives (Donaldson, 1995; Scarce, 1997), claims that sexual deprivation is a major causative factor, remain largely unsubstantiated (Gear, 2001).

2.2.4.2 WHO RAPES AND WHO IS TARGETED FOR RAPE IN PRISONS?

"Traumatic life events, like other misfortunes, are especially merciless to those who are already troubled"
(Herman, 1997, p. 60).

The particular circumstances of incarceration, need to be examined when contemplating the profiles of possible rapists and potential victims (Donaldson, 1990). In addition, such explorations require considerations of gender-roles and their various manifestations within prisons. For example, in the USA, the men who are repeatedly raped, are assigned stereotypically traditional 'female' duties and forced into submissive roles (Scarce, 1997). Some homosexual men, feminine in appearance, apparently choose to take on these roles, performing as sex-workers. Perpetrators are afforded the status of 'men'. Their interactions with sexual 'victims' frequently mirror that of their relationships with women on the 'outside' – often rigid and punitive, at times considerate. Compassionate emotional alliances are reportedly rare, however, and any sexual reciprocation is kept secret (Donaldson, 1990). In contrast to many relationships 'outside', however, sexual consorts are treated as commodities, traded, sold or rented to others.

As with the rape of women, in most instances of male rape the offender is known to the victim and often holds higher status than his victim within their shared community (Herman, 1997). However, Herman and Vogelman (1990) stress that relatively little is known about the mind of the perpetrator. Tucker (1981/2001) observes two differences between prison rape and community rape. Namely: in prison rape, rapists do not fantasise that their victims are sexually aroused and appreciative; and exhibit little or no sexual dysfunction.

Herman (1997) and Kupers (2001) emphasise that those who are already disempowered and isolated from others are most at risk for being raped. Men who lack social skills, such as inmates suffering from mental disorders, are frequently targeted for rape, as are the youngest, smallest, and weakest inmates, and men whom are reputed to have been previously raped. Any sign of weakness enhances inmates' vulnerability (Kupers, 2001). Vulnerability can result from a lack of familiarity with prison codes, being a first-time offender, being charged with less serious crimes, not being affiliated with a gang, or not being part of the dominant racial or ethnic group within a prison. Most victims of rape are reportedly heterosexual, although known homosexual men are likely to be targeted for rape (Tucker, 1981; Donaldson, 1993). "The idea of a homosexual man who is not a substitute female is too threatening to be contemplated" (Donaldson, 1990).

2.2.4.3 RAPE TRAUMA SYNDROME IN MEN

As the diagnosis of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) has gained credibility, research on PTSD (DSM IV, 1997, pp. 424 - 429) and Rape Trauma Syndrome (RTS), has increased.

Professional and popular attention has been paid to the effects of rape. However, research focusing specifically on *male* responses to sexual violations, is sorely lacking.

Predominantly, the emotional, psychological and behavioural consequences of the rape of men, are assumed to be similar to those experienced by female survivors of rape. A salient characteristic of rape is its power to inspire helplessness, terror and frustration in its victims (Herman, 1997; Scarce, 1997). Fundamentally, it results in a broken sense of safety and trust. Rape is viewed as a violation of basic bodily integrity. "The traumatic event thus destroys the belief that one can be *oneself* in relation to others" (Herman, 1997, p. 53).

In men, common manifestations of RTS include flashbacks, obsessive thoughts, impaired concentration and memory, substance abuse, sexual dysfunction and prevailing feelings of guilt and self-blame. Additional RTS symptoms include sleep disturbances, hypervigilance and irritability (DSM IV, 1994, p. 428).

SPR provides specialised perspectives on male manifestations of RTS. Despite a tendency to prioritise the psychological injuries of *heterosexual* males, their focus on gender- specific needs and problems constitutes an invaluable addition to the literature on the rape of men. Repeatedly, it is emphasised that survivors' trauma is enhanced by issues specific to social constructions of gender.

For example, Scarce (1997) posits that the stigma experienced by male survivors could be more intense than that of women, due to the lack of popular acknowledgement that men can be raped. However, female survivors feel shame that is similarly reinforced by myths and a general tendency to blame the victims of sexual assault, rather than locating responsibility within perpetrators' behaviour.

Perceived 'de-masculinisation' could contribute to the intensity of shame and stigma that men might feel. Donaldson, for example, stresses that vulnerability and powerlessness are heightened in male survivors, "... who are brought up to expect internal inviolability, are expected to be able to defend themselves against attack, and are socialized to consider total helplessness incompatible with masculinity and thus intolerable..." (Donaldson, 2001, www.spr.org/docs/aids-advice.html).

Violently aggressive compensatory behaviour can result (Donaldson,2001,www.spr.org/docs/aids-advice.html), in addition to self-damaging / self-destructive behaviours, with suicide as its extreme expression. This factor of enacted aggression and violence is notably different from manifestations of RTS in women.

2.2.4.4 CONSEQUENCES OF THE RAPE OF MEN IN PRISONS

Tucker (1981), Knox (1996), Kupers (2001) and other SPR writers poignantly describe prisons as a "network of training grounds for rapists" (Donaldson, 1993, p. 1). They describe how the pent-up rage caused by frequent assaults, can cause rape survivors, especially if they don't receive any form of psychological intervention, to exact violence themselves once they return to their communities outside prison (Kupers, 2001). Thus, prisons' contribution to the cycle of violence in society, is explained as functioning in opposition to its intended function as a 'correctional institution'.

SPR was responsible for the first published description of RTS in the context of prison, stressing that literature on therapeutic interventions for male rape survivors, neglects to take into account "sharply intensifying factors" that effect prisoners (Donaldason, 1993, p.1). These include being unable to withdraw from the setting of their victimisation, and being exposed to repeated or continuous victimisation, that necessitates daily compromises and endurances.

Feelings of utter vulnerability and powerlessness are likely to be exacerbated in settings of imprisonment. In an environment where power is constantly negotiated, the loss of esteemed control is recounted as the most humiliating aspect of rape. In addition, perceptions that the male survivor's "sexual identity as a male has been compromised or even demolished or reversed" (Donaldson, 1997, p.2), can be exacerbated by the attitudes of other inmates.

The problem of contracting HIV is not unique to incarcerated men. However, it is compounded by: the general absence of HIV/AIDS awareness programmes, the unavailability of condoms and lubricants, lack of access to adequate health-care services, increased exposure to opportunistic infections in overcrowded facilities, attitudes towards sexuality that may discourage the use of condoms, and norms that stigmatise masturbation as a form of sexual expression (Donaldson, 2001, www.spr.org/docs/aids-advice.html ; Gear, 2001).

'Survivor guilt' is documented as a common effect of rape. Herman posits that guilt serves a purpose in attempting to regain some sense of power and control, as *"(t)*o imagine that one could have done better may be more tolerable than to face the reality of utter helplessness" (1997, p. 54). Nevertheless, it is also maladaptive and paralysing. Feelings of guilt may undoubtedly be amplified when the boundaries of consensual and non-consensual sex are blurred, or rape has become an institutionalised and non-negotiable code within gang culture.

Males are not encouraged to speak about their difficulties and seek support from others. In prison, it can be dangerous to speak frankly to others about one's pain (Kupers, 2001). "Snitching",

especially to authorities, is one of the worst and most severely punished violations of the prison 'code'. Significantly, prison environments encompass politics that impede effective intervention efforts (Scarce, 1997), and may exacerbate the deleterious effects of rape.

Secondary victimisation is defined as traumatisation that is caused by the insensitive treatment of others after incidents of assault (Herman, 1997; Maw, 1997). In prison, survivors' feelings of fear, distrust and isolation may be compounded by the incomprehension, disbelief or frank hostility of those they turn to for help. Pertinently, medical and legal systems within prison infrastructure, are reported to consistently fail rape survivors, either through frank disbelief, denial, insensitivity or actual complicity in the incidents of assault. The system offers little protection from or restitution for such violations. Eloquently expressed by Herman, although she refers to a different context: "Efforts to seek justice or redress often involve further traumatisation" (1997, p. 72).

This combination of circumstances contributes to inmates' difficulty even *naming* their experiences of rape, which works against recovery and can deepen depression and enhance RTS. Feelings of inferiority and guilt remain unexpressed and unchallenged as the silence surrounding the rape of men remains unbroken.

2.2.5 CONCLUSION

"...(T) he more we speak of the violence that surrounds us, the better we are prepared to tackle it"
(Scarce, 1997, p. 3).

The multitude, complexity and severity of the consequences of the rape of men by men, particularly within the punitive and restrictive environment of prison, have not been adequately explored. No existing psychological concepts or psychiatric diagnoses can be considered helpful classifications or descriptions, which could enhance understanding, thus informing appropriate interventions. The specific contextual backgrounds of deprivation and poverty within South African penal institutions, add to the complexity of any attempt at understanding (Swartz, 1998). By extrapolation, the vision of processes of potential recovery needs to be informed by such understanding, guided by specific socio-political analyses.

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH AND TRAINING METHODS

3.1 INTRODUCTION – METHODOLOGICAL PLURALISM

My brief as a consultant was not to conduct formal research, but to deliver a practical service and record this process. However, I understood that effective service delivery would necessarily entail preparatory research, action, and consistent reflection and evaluation. These phases would not proceed in linear sequence. I anticipated that they would occur simultaneously, intersecting within what Mikkelsen terms a 'project cycle' (1996, p. 48).

In order to meet the complexity of this task, I embraced a blend of strategies and diversity of theories. Whyte, Greenwood and Lazes urge "the deployment of a variety of techniques and strong intellectual and methodological discipline, not a commitment to the hegemony of a single research modality" (1991, p.19). There is no foolproof formula for how to choose the correct combination of methods, techniques and tools for research or training (Mikkelsen, 1996).

Our choices were determined by past experiences and exposure to different methodologies, facilitator ethics and values, and those of the organisations to which we were accountable. The methodologies employed consisted of a blend of Participatory Action Research and Experiential Training; informed by psychodynamic thinking and integrated by feminist principles and goals. Each tool, technique and theory contributed to the other.

They are outlined in the subsequent section. Following this theoretical overview, is a brief description of their application to the project within Pollsmoor.

3.2 PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH

3.2.1 BACKGROUND/ HISTORY

Participatory Action Research (PAR)[10] is a "genuine invention of dependent peoples" (Fals-Borda, 1981:2, p.20), having originated in developing countries during the 1970s, as a part of development programmes aiming for community empowerment. Hall refers to it as: "*(A)*n approach of social investigation, an educational process and a means of taking action" (1981, p.

[10] Mikkelsen writes of the many labels that organisations and individuals have created in order to describe participatory research and activities (1996, p. 68). I have chosen to use the term Participatory Action Research (PAR) to describe the methodology utilised within this project. This is predominantly because it reflects the developmental theory within which I was taught, and with which I am most familiar in practice. Additionally, this term seems to describe this particular work most accurately: it highlights the crucial component of participation in a process of reciprocal learning. It incorporates consideration of the action – research – reflection rhythm that characterised our work.

455). The techniques and tools incorporated within PAR originated in a variety of disciplines and in various traditions of communication and decision-making, including theatre, rural development, social anthropology, activist participatory research, adult education and feminist research (Mikkelsen, 1996, p. 67). Miller (1987, p.185) and Mikkelson (1996, p.34) write of this methodology as an intrinsically social psychology with a focus on processes of change.

Within the history of South Africa, critics advocated for socially relevant psychological practice "... based on a political understanding of these problems and involve empowering the individual through 'reflection and action' " (Berger and Lazarus, 1987, p.15). Hall (1981) and others believed that this research method could constitute a sensitive and effective way of investigating social issues in South Africa, and contribute towards the building of a future democratic society.

Within the 1990s, this method continued to be refined and terminology adapted, though its core characteristics remained fundamentally unchanged. Recent discussion has significantly emphasised considerations of organisational capacity and capability, for example, focusing on issues such as the sustainability of research initiatives (Mikkelsen, 1996; Donald, Dawes and Louw, 2000).

3.2.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH

PAR incorporates processes of investigation, planning, implementation and consistent evaluation. Within PAR there is a tight fit between theory and practice, science and service, study and action (Fals-Borda, 1981; Whyte, 1991; Mikkelson, 1996). Science becomes a social interaction. It combines study and action in order to address the needs of those oppressed by social structures, by including the aspirations, needs and resources of the group requesting an intervention.

The motive for PAR research is some form of social dissatisfaction. Rather than the problems of an individual being raised, "issues pertaining to community and collective destiny" are stressed (Van Vlaenderen and Nkwinti, 1990, p.3). Research is initiated not by academic researchers, but by people who identify and define their own problems and needs (Mikkelsen 1996).

Aptly described by Gilbert, PAR is referred to as "a means of engagement" (1987, p.216). 'Researcher' and 'researched' are mutual participants in a process of reflection and exploration that ideally results in reciprocal growth and development. PAR is designed for the sharing of control of a project. PAR thus tries to break away from the traditional exploitative and elitist relationship between researcher and researched, and aims to reverse disempowering research strategies "conducted for the power elite " (Mikkelsen, 1996, p.34). As articulated by Chambers,

"one first step is for outsider professionals, the bearers of modern scientific knowledge, to step down off their pedestals, and sit down, listen and learn " (1992, p.101).

Nevertheless, the model acknowledges that a role for skilled 'outside' input remains. A degree of specialisation in pursuit of knowledge is inevitable and important (Swantz, 1981; Vogelman, Perkel and Strebel, 1992; Mikkelsen, 1996; Donald, Dawes and Louw, 2000). The researcher within PAR has been described as facilitator, mediator, partner, co-producer of learning, catalyst, and collaborator (Hall, 1981; Whyte *et al*, 1991). Swantz and Sims stress the potential helpfulness of stimulation by 'outsiders' to an organisation: "By the very act of asking questions ... I was altering their patterns of awareness of their situation, thus I was acting on their realities" (1981, p. 379).

PAR thus described, is considered a tool for social action and change. The premise underlying the initiation of requests is that 'knowledge is power'. It is understood that reflections will be translated into beneficial action (Swantz, 1981; Gilbert 1987, Mikkelsen, 1996; Whyte *et al*, 1991).

PAR is necessarily flexible and process-oriented. Phases of research and implementation can require improvisation and may involve adjustment or restructuring of designs, goals or programmes. Projects proceed according to the directions indicated by participants, often unpredictably (Sanford, 1981; Mikkelsen, 1996; Morgan, 1983). Training and consultation needs are understood and adapted within the dynamic structure of any specific organisation (Gibson, 1999). This flexibility is considered one of the model's strengths.

However, as articulated by Mikkelsen (1996, pp. 41 and 46), there is a tension inherent in the focus on process. Fixed time frames for completion of research; budget constraints determined by project funders; necessary narrowing of a problem area to meet achievable goals, all frequently conflict with an imperative towards flexibility.

Further, participation itself is a problematic concept - "powerful but slippery" in the words of Elden and Levin (1991, p.133). The concept is open to varying interpretations and definitions (Mikkelsen, 1996). Whyte (1991) illustrates differences arising from various situations, hierarchies, power structures, compositions, frequency and duration which qualify participatory activities. For example, cross–cultural issues can influence communications and perceptions. Institutional hierarchies, gender, class and other variables of difference amongst participants, have the potential to considerably affect interpretations of information. These dynamics of power and difference that operate within processes of participation, raise questions regarding the usefulness of the resulting information, such as:

- Which participant agenda remains dominant, or is prioritised? (Santos, 1991).
- Whose expectations are met?
- Who has the power to define problems and select facts? (Mikkelsen, 1996, p. 42).

Participation is therefore not "some monolithic phenomenon" (Whyte, 1991, p. 45), but occurs within a wide variety of forms, according to the particular context of the task and organisation involved.

Other limitations highlighted within pertinent literature include:

- Participation can be used for purposes of legitimising a project, as opposed to engendering empowerment (Mikkelsen, 1996, p.42).
- There is a fine line between suggestion and manipulation by facilitators, who retain some power within their roles as consultants with specialised knowledge.
- It is rarely possible to involve all persons concerned with a designated problem (Mikkelsen, 1996, p.45).

The model of PAR appears to provide a solution to some of these dilemmas. It stresses the necessity of developing holistic rather than fragmented perspectives. Interdisciplinary collaboration is sought in order to gain a comprehensive picture of a social whole (Mikkelsen, 1996).

PAR advocates moving from an insider's perspective of a pertinent problem along an analytical continuum until it is possible to integrate a complete picture (Gilbert, 1987; Mikkelsen, 1996). Explorations of intersecting systems and institutions incorporate pertinent considerations of history, politics, economy, religion, and environment. The specific blend of methods that we embraced within this endeavour, are therefore linked historically and incorporated within the broad delineation of PAR.

Regarding our style of training, familiarity with the techniques and attitudes of 'Experiential Learning' added to our repertoires. It is widely utilised in the training of lay-counsellors within Cape Town NGOs, including Rape Crisis.

3.3 EXPERIENTIAL TRAINING METHODOLOGY

"How one presents something is often as strong a political statement as the content one is presenting"
(Hope and Timmel, 1996, p. 11).

3.3.1 HISTORY

'Experiential Learning', as with PAR, has its roots in developing countries, within a context of transformation and emerging development practices. Paulo Freire's theory of 'Participatory Development' or 'Development Education' (Hope and Timmel, 1996) constitutes the origin of a method of training that has subsequently been adopted and refined by numerous NGOs and political organisations working towards democracy. In texts such as *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Paulo Freire emphasised that "no education is neutral" (Hope and Timmel, 1996, p. 22). He became famous for bringing together processes of critical awareness and literacy teaching, philosophy of education and development.

3.3.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF EXPERIENTIAL TRAINING

Experiential Training is based on the conviction that people remember and internalise more of what they say themselves and experience directly, than information delivered in didactic presentations and passively attended to (Hope and Timmel, 1996). It recognises "that a commitment to learning is highest when we are free to set our own learning goals and actively pursue them within a given framework" ('Life Line Western Cape' manual that accompanies their Personal Growth Course for lay-counsellors, n.d.). As with PAR, therefore, this method of training is characterised by participation and reciprocal learning for trainers and trainees.

It too, strives for coherence between content and methods, practice and theory (Hope *et al*, 1996). To facilitate optimal learning, experiential training utilises creative techniques designed to involve participants' "whole self: body, thoughts, feelings and actions" (Pinnock, 1997, p. 88). Appropriate theory can then be presented by facilitators, to assist the assimilation and organisation of knowledge gained experientially.

The development of an atmosphere of trust which encourages open discussion, interaction and behaviour that is not defensive, is considered crucial to the success of this form of learning (Pinnock, 1997; Lifeline, n.d.). The skills and sensitivity of facilitators are important in this regard. Therefore, as emphasised within PAR theory, attitudes of facilitators are a crucial ingredient of this training modality (Mikkelsen, 1996; Ivey, 1999).

Ideally, facilitators' attitudes should be congruent with the goals of empowerment that qualify both Experiential Training and PAR. The disposition characterising these methods of research and

training, has led to PAR being described as "an attitude" (Gilbert, 1987; Mikkelsen, 1996), – "a state of mind, as regarded to a circumscribed set of intentional behaviours" (Ivey, 1999, p1).

This shared characteristic corresponds to the mental disposition advocated within a psychodynamic frame of working, which will be described below.

In our journey as consultants to prepare for, and deliver effective and appropriate training within Pollsmoor, insights and approaches derived from psychotherapeutic practice served as valuable additions to the blend of methodologies we applied.

3.4 CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PSYCHODYNAMIC THINKING

Ideas and concepts derived from individual psychotherapy and community psychology that emphasises an understanding of organisational processes, were particularly helpful in our struggles to understand the underlying processes at work within this institution (Halton, 1994).

One of the theoretical positions on which we drew, was developed within the Tavistock Clinic in London and delineated by Obholzer and Roberts (1994). In essence, the model recognises unconscious aspects of organisational functioning, which colour its conscious activities. Mosse stresses that if: "...no account is taken of the psychic determinants of the pre-existing organisation, unconscious needs are unlikely to be met and so it will probably fail" (1994, p.1).

Mosse goes on to emphasise the facilitators' role in this process: "It is axiomatic, and stands at the very heart of applied psychoanalytic work, that the instrument with which one explores unconscious processes is oneself – one's own experience of and feelings about the shared situation" (1991, p. 6). PAR similarly advocates evaluative contemplation (Mikkelsen, 1996), but it does not emphasise attention to the unconscious.

In keeping with a psychodynamic attitude stressing self-reflexivity as an indispensable tool, critical reflection was essential for us as facilitators. Within the training and research, we needed to admit our subjectivity and acknowledge our values and biases (Huizer, 1984, p.17; Vogelman 1990; Mikkelsen, 1996; Karlsen, 1991). When necessary, we thought it important to make them explicit, in order to minimise the potential impact of our prejudices.

In common with psychodynamic theory, PAR emphasises that within any intervention, a consultant is engaging with a social system where different levels interact. "Dynamics at one level can affect and be mirrored at other levels" (Obholzer and Roberts, 1994, p.xiv). Therefore, an understanding of an organisation should be located within the broader community context of which it is part

(Gibson, 1999). Within Pollsmoor, our explorations needed to recognise links between this institution and the 'outside' world, which might also be reflected within its boundaries. Thus, in the interests of real change and sustainability, a linking of social factors with psychoanalytic perspectives that consider unconscious elements operating within individuals, groups and organisations, is urged (Obholzer, 1994; Halton, 1994).

Sensitivity to group dynamics informed by psychotherapeutic work with groups, promised to serve as a particularly valuable tool in terms of our service delivery. Contributions arising from a psychodynamic approach were numerous, and will be elucidated further in the chapters that follow.

3.5 FEMINIST VALUES/ ETHICS INFORMING INTERVENTION

Feminism served as the ethical foundation of this training process. It also served an integrating function within this work, as it was the stance we shared as facilitators, determining many decisions. This attitude extends to the structure and content of this text (Morley and Walsh, 1995).

It is widely recognised that research and psychological practice are never neutral or value-free. Observations and interpretations are influenced by individuals' political and ideological standpoints, which in turn affect programme design and implementation (Gilbert, 1987; Masson, 1990; Mikkelsen, 1996). I was aware that feminist principles would colour my opinions, interpretations and subsequent actions. Feminist values incorporate principles of justice and equality (hooks, 2000), and a commitment to tolerance, integrity and empowerment. As such, feminist ethics are consistent with Participatory Action Research and Experiential Training methods. In fact, historically, feminist research and therapeutic practices have informed the development of and contributed to the refinement of both methodologies. Feminist approaches to education are reflected in Experiential Training as both draw on a complexity of political understandings and expressions, including those of gender and power relations, sexualities, class, age and 'race' differences (Squire, 1990, p. 85).

From the outset of this endeavour, we recognised the power inherent in our professional roles. Simultaneously, we were cognisant of our limitations and relative insecurities. As facilitators and feminists, we hoped to sustain our commitment to dialogue and empowerment, humility, and sincerity to learn from others.

Paradoxically, however, it could be argued that approaching this task from a feminist perspective, necessarily resulted in our setting up women and men as different from one another, as feminism does incorporate a positioning of the 'other' (Collier, 1998) – polarities of 'them' and 'us'.

CHAPTER 4 DESCRIPTION OF EXPLORATORY PHASE

"...I seek to begin to unfold, in full complexity, wholeness, depth, the embedded meanings..."
(Kaschak, 1992, p. 35).

4.1 PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIONS

This chapter discusses how the theoretical methods and techniques described in Chapter Two, were applied within investigations designed to equip us for the training ahead.

We anticipated that we would need a few months to gather information, identify our aims, and structure the training programme accordingly. Our investigative techniques overlapped and intersected, involving the unpredictable directions and additions which Whyte has called "creative surprises" (1991, p. 97).

Our initial goal was to understand the context and complexities of the unfamiliar domain of prison life. We accepted that multiple realities would co-exist within this institution because it comprised various networks of allegiances and structures of power.

We duly arranged semi-structured meetings with the relevant authorities and service providers within 'Male Admissions', namely prison authorities, medical personnel, psychologists and social workers.

These investigations and communications were intended to serve six main functions:

- to introduce ourselves as representatives of Rape Crisis; inform others of our intended activities within Pollsmoor; and address concerns or questions
- to gather information from different sources, including perspectives on the current services and systems operating within the prison
- to gain information that might complement our growing understanding of the dynamics of rape of men in prisons
- to determine the lines of authority within Pollsmoor, in order to minimise the risk of undermining management structures within the prison (Obholzer, 1994), or alienating any groups that could potentially obstruct the training or impede the work of 'Friends'
- to explore possibilities of referrals and co-operative assistance for 'Friends' in the future
- to engender interest and institutional backing for the training, congruent with our goal of ensuring the project's sustainability. In Leiper's words, our ultimate aim was to work towards "achiev*(ing)* joint ownership and to involve both managers and staff in ways that pay more than lip service to the process " (1994, p. 203).

Formal and informal contact with warders and inmates of Pollsmoor constituted our dominant means of gaining insight and gathering relevant information within this exploratory phase.

'Friends' was already constituted as a group. As their work increased, they expressed a need for immediate support that could address their anxieties. In response to reiterated requests for information that could assist them in responding to the many demands they were trying to meet, we agreed to facilitate weekly 'supervision' groups until the start of the training itself. We hoped that such groups would provide a forum for containment and reflection for 'Friends', and provide an opportunity for the development of mutual understanding and trust.

Guided tours of the prison had been very helpful in orientating us to Pollsmoor. However, 'supervision groups' promised to expose us to the dynamics, structures, procedures and protocols operating within 'Male Admissions' – thereby familiarising us with the discourses of prison life, embedded in the language and codes within the prison.

As Whyte *et al* articulate: "The process begins with the problems people ... are currently facing. Instead of beginning in the conventional fashion with a review of the literature, ...we *(within PAR)* start by discovering the problems existing in the organisation. Only as we work with members of the organisation, ... do we draw upon the research literature ..." (1991, p. 40). We read and reviewed relevant literature whenever we could. However, our prioritised task during this initial phase was to draw out the participants and to listen to the way they perceived their world.

During supervision sessions with 'Friends', we were asked if we would like to speak to rape survivors themselves, in order to gain a more comprehensive picture of their experiences, concerns and needs. This request serves as an excellent illustration of Whyte's (1991) "creative surprises". Although edited considerably, I have included this discussion in order to convey some of the unpredictable movement and texture of the experiences with which I was regularly confronted. It is an example of an ethical debate and an ultimate decision to stretch my professional and personal boundaries.[11]

It was explained that, over a period of twelve weeks, the men slept in the 'Safe Cell' at night and were taken through various courses during the day, such as: 'Spiritual Growth', 'Pathway to

[11] Emotional debates where conflicting desires, needs, reluctances, demands and ethics intersected, characterised our experiences in Pollsmoor. Similar turbulence that challenges the pre-defined boundaries of service providers, is likely to be central to most 'community' work. Yet these processes are seldom documented, or are only referred to in passing. Perhaps they are often considered extraneous to a primary academic task?

Excellence', 'Life Skills', 'Conflict Resolution' and 'Candle Making'. 'Friends' were gradually gaining the trust of the rape survivors in the cell through providing these programmes.

However, the fact that the men had been raped had never been directly addressed. The silence was resounding and possibly reinforced the idea that their abuse was something to be ashamed of. They were starting to wonder when the issue of their abuse would be raised.

We agreed that listening to their experiences within Pollsmoor could valuably complement literature reviews and information acquired from interactions with male rape survivors outside a prison context. However, in debating whether we should talk to the men in the 'Safe Cell', we considered that any interaction could divulge a need for counselling or some other form of assistance. Given that there was no one within the prison system who could deliver any therapeutic intervention, we believed that we would be ethically obliged to follow through with counselling or adequate referrals to the self-identified survivors. Rape Crisis was concerned that the organisation did not have the capacity or resources to fulfil such an obligation on a long-term basis. Nevertheless, in light of the above considerations, rather than potential gains to us as facilitators, I agreed to provide an information session to the occupants of the 'Safe Cell'.

After one meeting, it was indeed confirmed that additional sessions were necessary. Within five additional group sessions, I offered the survivors support and an opportunity to discuss the context and possible consequences of rape within prison. In addition, they informed me of their feelings, concerns and daily realities. I attended respectfully, with a view to making recommendations on the most appropriate forms of future intervention.

Simultaneously, acutely aware of our limited exposure to working with men, we wished to learn from others with experience in this domain. We particularly desired to learn from organisations' experiences of training men around issues of gender-sensitivity, considerations of power dynamics and the notion of 'masculinity'. We hoped that we could, with appropriate acknowledgements, utilise tried and tested materials within the structure of the training. We therefore sought information from organisations and individuals working with men; therapists and health care personnel working outside of prison; individuals working with perpetrators of violence; and male rape survivors themselves.

Next, we attempted to organise the disparate interpretations and ideas we had gathered in a coherent, comprehensive manner. A parallel process of distilling the variety of information gathered and drawing conclusions from it, followed. As Mosse stresses: " *(t)*he consultant ... also must be able to observe ... what actually goes on, regardless of what is claimed, and then be able

to reflect ... upon the significance of what has been discerned" (1994, p. 6). Analysis and reporting were thus continuous within every phase of our explorations.

4.2 PLANNING FOR THE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TRAINING

4.2.1 SAFEGUARDS FOR FACILITATORS

"Trauma is contagious. ... Just as no survivor can recover alone, no therapist can work with trauma alone"
(Herman, 1997, p. 141).

In order to sustain a consistently proficient level of service delivery, we wanted to limit the chances of our becoming 'burnt-out' or 'vicariously traumatised' (Herman, 1997; Maw, 1997). (See Appendix C8.) The following forums were set up in order to ensure that our work was performed with personal integrity, and assist us in sustaining professional accountability.

4.2.1.1 DEBRIEFING

We committed ourselves to informal 'debriefings', in which we could discuss our emotional and intellectual responses to each workshop. This designated time would enable us to support, contain and validate one another, enabling us to proceed with the more discrete tasks of evaluation and planning.

4.2.1.2 SUPERVISION

Believing that a male perspective on our work could be a valuable asset, we deliberately sought an appropriate male supervisor, experienced in therapeutic interventions with men.

Weekly group supervision was organised to serve four main functions:

- 'Holding' or 'Containment': We required a space in which to speak confidentially about the work's impact on our personal lives.
- Processing and Reflection: As PAR theorists declare: "In both the research process and the action process, there is a need for time to reflect on what is taking place. ...Involved researchers need guidance from and discussion with people who are standing outside the project itself" (Karlsen, 1991, p. 156). Supervision offered a uniquely calm place in which to review actions, process thoughts and examine counter-transference responses (Halton, 1994, p. 16) in order to curtail potentially damaging ramifications.
- Assessment and Evaluation: A supervisor not submerged in the process of training as we were, could assist us in identifying themes and dynamics of which we might not otherwise be aware.
- Facilitator Communication: Supervision would provide a particular opportunity for us to examine our group dynamic as facilitators.

4.2.1.3 PERSONAL THERAPY

As recognised within psychoanalytic thinking: "*...(S)*ome personal therapy is probably necessary, sufficient to help one to 'catch' and reorient oneself within the powerful unconscious psychic currents that run through groups, particularly when their unconscious defenses are under scrutiny" (Mosse, 1994, p. 7). Not all the facilitators were able to afford individual therapy at the time. We hoped, therefore, that group supervision and debriefings would fulfil this function adequately.

4.2.2 ACCOUNTABILITY

"Feminist ethics demand accountability of every individual for her or his own actions, guided by principles of beneficence and respect. ...Ethical feminists must demand accountability from others and from themselves"
(Quina and Miller, 2000, p. 153).

Leiper defines one of the functions of 'accountability' as: " the communication of information about the service to other parts of the system to enable co-ordination of resources and permit other parties with a stake in the service ...to be reassured about its quality" (1994, p. 201).

As consultants, we were primarily accountable to Rape Crisis throughout the training process. Although we worked relatively independently, we were acting as their public representatives. It was therefore considered crucial that the organisation be aware of each stage of our work and have ample opportunity to monitor our progress and make contributions. I maintained regular contact with the Director of Rape Crisis throughout the preparation, implementation and evaluation phases. In turn, she passed on reports and information to members of the Board of Management and staff, where relevant.

To further facilitate this process of accountability, we arranged to hold meetings to which all members of Rape Crisis were invited. These would provide opportunities for staff and volunteers to hear about the work in Pollsmoor, ask questions and offer feedback.

In addition, I committed myself to compiling an evaluative report for Rape Crisis. This detailed documentation was intended to ensure that similar training undertaken by the organisation in future, could be informed by our experiences in this particular endeavour. Furthermore, I hoped that comments and recommendations might benefit the work of the Training and Public Awareness (TPA) sectors of Rape Crisis, more generally.

Finally, we committed ourselves to facilitating a number of workshops for Rape Crisis staff and volunteers. These workshops were intended to serve as forums in which to present an overview of the completed training to the members of the organisation, and offer an opportunity for

volunteers and staff active in counselling and training to explore aspects of working with male rape survivors.

We also felt accountable to the group that requested the training – 'Friends Against Abuse'. We made similar commitments to this group. We undertook that confidentiality would be maintained. Any written documentation of the training process would be submitted for their prior approval before publication.

I was aware that tensions might arise between the values of the different groups to which we felt accountable as facilitators (Leiper, 1994). In addition to the principles articulated in the Rape Crisis Mission Statement (Appendix B3), we were each personally committed to non-racism, non-sexism and working within a feminist frame. These values informed the spirit in which we conducted our work.

4.2.3 STRATEGIES FOR EVALUATION

" If experience is the food of learning, then evaluation is the digestive process. To benefit from the experience, then something must be made of it"
(Leiper, 1994, p. 197).

Applying the principle of 'accountability' required us to develop strategies with which to assess our work. Consistent with PAR, feminist and experiential training theories, we believed thorough evaluation and feedback to be crucial to all stages. Our subjective impressions and assessments would form a central, but insufficient, evaluative component. As Louw summarises: "...*(P)*rogramme activities and results have to be accounted for to a wider audience. ... The programme staff's sense of 'certainty' ... and anecdotal evidence of effectiveness are, on their own, certainly not going to be enough..." (2000, p. 61).

At the outset of the training, a broad outline of the proposed programme content and methodology had been developed. As this initiative was untested, however, each step could benefit from a thorough assessment that could inform the design or modification of subsequent sessions. In addition, exploratory research was being conducted simultaneously with workshop implementation. Information accumulated from other sources also needed to be incorporated into the workshop design. Louw writes of this cyclical process that he terms 'feedback loops' : "... when information gathered at one level of the programme process is used to inform goals and activities at a preceding level" (2000, p. 62).

A variety of formal and informal evaluation techniques, described below, were incorporated into the training process in order to measure and record the efficacy of our work. Consistent with PAR, training was jointly monitored by facilitators and participants (Gilbert, 1987).

For facilitators:

- Processes of accountability and supervision, described above, ensured that colleagues had opportunities to give evaluative feedback from external perspectives.
- After each workshop, facilitators collectively completed a written evaluation of the session. The evaluations followed a set format that also assisted us in debriefing. (See Appendix C10.1 – template.)
- Supervision and planning meetings served an evaluative function. These were valuable in providing forums for reflection some time after the sessions themselves, allowing different perspectives to emerge in hindsight.

For participants:

- Anonymous written assessments after each session. Visual and verbal modalities were alternated; structured and unstructured formats varied so that responses did not become stagnant and rote, through anticipation. (See Appendix C10.4 for selected examples.)
- Each participant was requested to complete a final and more comprehensive written evaluation at the end of the training. The forms were structured to elicit opinions on different areas of the training, including method, content, usefulness and by-products such as personal growth.
- Personal reflection sheets and keeping a journal. (See Appendix C10.5 for selected examples.) These were designed to encourage personal evaluations and assessments of the process.

CHAPTER 5 DESCRIPTIONS OF FINDINGS FROM PREPARATION PHASE

Our explorations, described below, procured sufficient information to enable us to proceed, with a degree of confidence, with the planning and execution of the training programme.[12]

5.1 EXPLORATIONS OF FACILITIES AND SERVICES WITHIN POLLSMOOR

5.1.1 PRISON AUTHORITIES

We had been informed that the Head of the Admissions Centre actively encouraged new and progressive initiatives within Pollsmoor, and supported the work of external NGOs and 'Community Based Organisations' (CBOs) within the prison. This was confirmed by our meeting with identified prison authorities, who emphasised that this initiative corresponded to the Mission and Aims of the Department of Correctional Services. (Appendix A1.) They explained that they believed that prisons were not a system of punishment but "a school, a church, in society, in the community" and that communities should "become more involved in supporting CBOs and NGOs working with Pollsmoor" (personal communication).

They expressed appreciation for Rape Crisis' collaboration with 'Friends' in tackling the problems of rape within Pollsmoor, and offered to assist us in any way possible. However, a limited budget and bureaucratic restrictions meant that in practice, few resources could be allocated to this endeavour.

The representative authorities agreed that current policies and protocols regarding abuse within Pollsmoor were inadequate. They assured us that they would support initiatives to change or develop them by personally facilitating the processes of gaining approval for such recommendations, from the relevant authorities.

We were optimistic that this verbal endorsement of our work could be used to gain the co-operation of other warders in Male Admissions, through education programmes, and in the development and ratification of policies.

[12] In order to preserve their anonymity, the many individuals and organisations that generously volunteered information and their opinions, have not been named in this document.

5.1.2 HEALTH AND REHABILITATION SERVICE PROVIDERS *- PSYCHOLOGISTS, SOCIAL WORKERS AND NURSING STAFF*

It was extraordinarily difficult to identify, locate and meet with psychologists and social workers, in itself an indication of the weaknesses and complexities of the system. The picture we gleaned was predictably bleak. The workloads and working conditions of these service providers tended to preclude them from prioritising the needs of rape survivors. As with other DCS staff, service providers' conditions of work were not optimal, salaries not competitive, opportunities for promotion limited.[13]

Finances and posts for psychologists had not increased in proportion to the increased numbers of inmates within the overcrowded prison. One reason for this, as explained, was the official - but not necessarily always strictly followed - policy within the DCS that unsentenced prisoners were not eligible to receive rehabilitation services. However, the few open posts appeared to have remained unfilled over time, due to the complexity of bureaucratic procedures. In addition, psychological services appeared to be under-valued or not respected within this institution, as indicated by the cursory mention of this service as "if available" in the 'Orientation Information' handout for new inmates, for example. (See Appendix A3.)

Roux, who worked as a psychologist in Pollsmoor some years ago, offered this explanation:

> Professionals had knowledge, and that was power, and power was a threat to the system. We were rendered useless by tiny budgets and the hierarchy of power – the total budget for the social welfare and psychological services were less than that allocated to the dog units. There were approximately eighty posts for psychologists countrywide. Less than half were filled most of the time. That meant approximately one psychologist for every three thousand prisoners. The average resignation rate for psychologists was between fifty and sixty percent per year, which meant a totally new staff every two years (2002, pp. 15 -16).

Psychologists felt hampered by numerous factors, including space restrictions. They mainly attended to the most urgent referrals, frequently inmates who were suicidal, and their therapeutic interventions focused on individual therapy.

Social workers tended to focus on group work in order to reach the maximum number of people. Although aware that rape is prominent within Pollsmoor, they reportedly received few referrals of such cases from warders, medical personnel, or rape survivors themselves.

[13] However, there were some benefits that served to motivate service providers. For example, many of the eight male nurses within 'Male Admissions', preferred working with men and were not eager to re-enter other state hospital systems, considered female - dominated domains. Additional benefits included access to sports teams, facilities and competitions. For psychologists and social workers, access to further training and other educational benefits served as an incentive to work within the prison system.

When requested to counsel rape survivors, they used 'de-traumatisation' techniques and referred to psychologists if the case was considered "sufficiently serious" (personal communication).

There appeared to be minimal direct contact between psychologists, social workers and medical staff. Referrals to different professionals occurred via forms through the hospital system, and might therefore be executed slowly, or not at all.

A common perception amongst staff and inmates in all sectors of Pollsmoor, was that medical staff tended to dismiss genuine medical or psychological problems as 'acting out' or 'malingering'. Nurses expressed regret that the policies for dealing with rape in the prison were inadequate. Men were frequently examined physically, treated cursorily and sent back to their cells. There was very little, if any, follow-up after an incident of sexual assault was reported. Services not provided included filling out forensic reports, termed 'J88 forms', that could be used if the survivors wished to press charges against perpetrators, and the offer or provision of post-exposure prophylaxis (PEP)[14] to rape survivors, which might decrease the possibility of contracting HIV.

I approached nursing staff at Male Admissions' hospital with a proposal for specialised training that would complement the training of 'Friends' and additional staff. (See Appendix C1 - letter of proposal.) The staff to whom I spoke, expressed a need and desire for specialised medical training in the realm of rape, including how to deal with a rape survivor's emotions. As there was limited external input and training within Pollsmoor, it was anticipated that such training would motivate staff and equip them to offer rape survivors an improved service. It could also be considered as a means of potentially furthering their careers in other institutions. It was decided to extend the invitation to nurses in other sections of Pollsmoor.[15]

[14] Post – exposure prophylaxis (PEP), simply explained, is a combination of drugs thad may be given to a person who has already been exposed to the HIV virus – notably through needle-stick injuries or unprotected sex with an HIV positive person. Through completing a course of these drugs, starting within twenty-four hours of the possible exposure, it is hoped that the risk of HIV infection is reduced.

[15] Unfortunately, it was not certain that the doctors would not make themselves available for the training. This concerned me as the medical power hierarchy might well result in the doctors not giving credence to recommendations and suggestions from nurses having attended the training sessions that were proposed. Ideally, the doctors should be aware of, and approve of, any shifts in approach or policy.

5.2 EXPLORATIONS OF ORGANISATIONS AND INDIVIDUALS WORKING WITH MEN

– *PERPETRATORS OF RAPE AND MALE RAPE SURVIVORS.*

5.2.1 HEALTH-CARE PERSONNEL WORKING OUTSIDE PRISON

The following information was gathered in interactions with professionals who were acquaintances or colleagues. It was not the result of any quantitative research. No definitive conclusions are claimed here, but preliminary observations are offered. The opinions I obtained were predominantly those of men and women working within the Cape Town Metropole I spoke to the regional head of the Department of Health, a limited number of community health workers, social workers, clinical psychologists, and counsellors working within NGOs, such as Rape Crisis. Information from additional organisations and other regions of the Western Cape might produce a different picture. Sound research that explores the exposure of health professionals to the dynamics of the rape of men, might elicit information that could be used in advocacy aiming to improve provincial health services for male rape survivors, and help to break the silence around the rape of men.

Explorations elicited that male and female therapists in state institutions, working in NGOs or in private practice, had seen few male clients presenting with rape. Many therapists had encountered the dynamics of childhood sexual abuse within their clients' histories, but few felt sufficiently exposed to the dynamics of the rape of men to confidently offer insights or information over and above what we had already read. This limited exploration confirmed my impression that the rape of men in South Africa is seldom acknowledged.

Explorations of health care services in the Western Cape added to this picture of the rape of men being a silent but feared reality, confirming initial reports of resistance to examining male survivors.[16] I was told of male doctors who refused to treat male rape survivors, despite clear directives to do so. This is possibly a reaction driven by fear and homophobia, derived from internalising the notion of 'masculinity'. Gynaecologists have minimal expertise in treating male rape survivors. Nevertheless, they are often compelled to manage such cases, in the absence of other avenues of assistance.

[16] Rape Crisis interacts regularly with legal, medical and health facilities. The knowledge gained from direct service delivery, networking and advocacy, frequently provides Rape Crisis with access to information not yet widely known. Through advocacy work in the arena of HIV/ AIDS, it came to my attention that local clinics and provincial hospitals were floored by the presentation of male rape survivors to their services. Frequently, men were being turned away by health-care providers who refused to examine them, or refuted the validity of their claims of rape.

As is the case in Pollsmoor, medical staff appeared to feel ill equipped and unqualified to deal with either the physical or psychological challenges presented by the rape of men by men. Myths, fear and denial seemed to pervade.

This disturbing portrayal of the health care system corresponds to testimonies regarding the treatment of male rape survivors within medical services in the USA. As Scarce aptly comments: "Male survivors often fall through the cracks of healthcare delivery as an anomaly in this respect when rape is medically viewed as solely an issue of female biology" (1997, p. 175).

5.2.2 ORGANISATIONS WORKING WITH MEN

Explorations elicited disappointing results. Our impression that few NGOs in the Western Cape were involved in training in this arena, was confirmed. We discovered that most organisations that offered training in gender-sensitivity, targeted women or existing service providers as their audience. 'Triangle Project' is an NGO that incorporates a focus on men in its service delivery, but aims to address the needs of homosexual, bisexual or transgendered individuals only. We were aware of few NGOs that offered awareness-raising programmes for heterosexual men.

With keen anticipation, therefore, I approached '5 IN 6' – the only NGO that we were aware of, that defined its target audience as men. What emerged from these explorations was disheartening, if not surprising. Even this organisation had shifted its focus and begun to work with women. It was explained that working with men produced too few guaranteed results to justify organisational expenditure. It was deemed more effective to work towards empowering women than to try and change the attitudes and behaviours of men.

I was excited to learn that 'GETNET' (Gender Training Network) had recently completed an evaluation of its 'Men's Programme' that had been implemented within the last 5 years. We requested their assistance. The NGO expressed interest in our endeavour and an eagerness to embark on work in prisons in the future. Their training had focused on government and NGO personnel, and they were interested to see how it could be applied to work in a different sector. However, hampered by time constraints and their organisational policies and protocols, we found access to their resources restricted.

As facilitators, we resolved to focus our energy on creating a training programme using Rape Crisis' and our personal skills and resources, rather than expending further energy searching for

external assistance. We felt daunted, however, in the face of the ambitious task ahead.[17]

5.2.3 INDIVIDUAL 'SPECIALISTS' WORKING IN THE FIELD

Eventually we made contact with two women who had previously worked as clinical social workers within Pollsmoor. They had both had therapeutic experience with perpetrators of sex offences. They were excited to hear of our work, believing that feminists have a potentially valuable role to play in work within prisons. They generously shared their knowledge and expertise with us. Both assisted us in facilitation of the training, and offered us some of the support and affirmative sense of community we had been seeking.

We were already beyond the preparatory stages when we became aware of the Centre for Conflict Resolution's 'Prison Transformation Programme'.[18] Initial attempts to meet with the role-players in that training programme, were also unsuccessful. On completion of the project, we were however gratified to be able to exchange ideas and experiences with certain key staff members.

5.2.4 MEN 'OUTSIDE' PRISON WHO HAD EXPERIENCED RAPE

Personal interactions with a number of men who had experienced sexual abuse or rape, elicited information that corresponded with that which emerged from sessions within the 'Safe Cell' in Pollsmoor, and from available literature.

The men emphasised feelings of shame and wounded masculinity and pride, private questioning of their sexual orientation, fear of being able to perform adequately in heterosexual relationships. They articulated fearful anticipations of other people's reactions were they to disclose their experiences of rape, and most chose to keep silent. Many expressed anger and a desire for vengeance, which some had enacted some time after they were raped.

These were some differences from the experiences of women. Predominantly, male rape survivors spoke about symptoms and feelings that corresponded to those of female survivors.

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[17] We felt peculiarly isolated, and questioned:

We would like to be more in touch with and supported by those who have done similar work. Why is it so difficult to access other people or organisations working in this field? Why are they so silent and apparently unwilling to share their work and experiences? What are other feminist trainers doing? How could they assist us in our thinking and service delivery? Where are they working and what methods are they using? *Surely* there is no need for this isolation and feeling of 're-inventing the wheel' – there *must* be others who have contributions to make to our work? (Extract from my Session 8 evaluation.)

[18] A portion of their work within Pollsmoor was filmed as a BBC documentary entitled: *Killers Don't Cry*, and screened on South African television - Bestall and Joubert's *Cage of Dreams*, which won the Grierson Award in the UK in October 2001.

They spoke about how their experiences of sexual violation had altered their view of the world, and how difficult it had became to trust others, especially men. Nightmares, flashbacks, obsessive thoughts and prevailing feelings of guilt, dirtiness and self-blame, seemed similar to RTS symptoms manifested by women.

As with women, each man that I spoke to, responded to his rape in a unique manner, congruent with his personality and life experience. No two stories were alike, although there were similar themes.

5.3 INFORMATION SESSIONS WITH THE RESIDENTS OF THE 'SAFE CELL'

Don't you believe in ghosts?

She said:
You must be suffering from what we Americans call post-traumatic stress disorder.

(No reply.)
The first three words had already assumed too much.

(Survivor's guilt.)
No, no. Not at all. It's much worse than that. You assume that there is someone here who survived.

(Anne Store, 1995 – unpublished)

There were fifteen to twenty participants in each group, which I facilitated on my own. The six sessions were relatively unstructured. I offered information about RTS, HIV and AIDS, and we explored their concerns and questions. We listened to a tape entitled: 'Becoming a Survivor' purchased from an organisation in the United States of America called 'Stop Prisoner Rape' (SPR – http://www.spr.org/docs/pc.html). The group debated pertinent issues, and the final session incorporated a demonstration of the use of condoms and femidoms.

Within our meetings, trust developed slowly, even with repeated guarantees and demonstrations of confidentiality. As with the 'Friends' (see 5.4 for elaboration), group members consistently spoke of the lack of privacy and confidentiality that pervades Pollsmoor, and their scepticism that anyone within the system could be trusted. They expressed the need for access to external legal and medical systems, as internal investigation teams, medical personnel and prison authorities had failed them in the past. Despite many of the men's unfamiliarity with the concept of counselling, I received numerous requests for private conversations, in my capacity as an 'external witness' to their personal stories.

Challenges I encountered included the prevailing silence and secrecy surrounding the rape of men. In our first meetings, especially, few men acknowledged their status as survivors of rape, most discussions involving feelings and fears were expressed in the third person. Male pride was

an overt or underlying theme throughout. Speaking openly about their vulnerabilities within the sessions, could have damaging personal consequences, as most of the men shared a cell. However, when speaking to men individually, they were able to express themselves with more freedom.

In addition, some of the men had been sexually assaulted and others had been placed in the 'Safe Cell' as a preventive measure, having identified themselves as at risk for rape or assault. This contributed to the power dynamics and splits that were evidently operative within the group. Individuals' concerns differed vastly, and were expressed within a wide range of questions. The issue most frequently raised, was that of masturbation – cultural and moral concerns, and light-heartedly or provocatively, its execution.

Many of the rape survivors were gangsters and perpetrators of murder or sexual assault themselves, necessitating a consideration of perpetrator dynamics within the intervention. For example, some questions were clearly related to their own alleged sexual offences. I addressed these honestly, but on occasions, I immediately wanted to censor a response, as this information could be used against women.[19] At such times, I even made this concern overt and literally warned them not to dare use that information to their advantage. I always addressed the underlying concerns of male rape survivors that I perceived lay veiled behind such questions. I spoke of other rape survivors' feelings and experiences that might reflect their own and help them feel less alone or even 'mad' as they battled silently with their internal conflicts.

Feedback after the group sessions reinforced my impression that a confidential space to talk about feelings, ask questions, explore attitudes towards homosexuality, masculinity, and receive information about HIV and AIDS, was useful. Information that prepared rape survivors for possible rape trauma symptoms, identified feelings, normalised their experiences and helped them feel less isolated, was also valuable. I concluded, and was able to recommend to 'Friends', that it was indeed necessary to set up a system of individual counselling for rape survivors, preferably one that could be accessed as soon as they entered the 'Safe Cell'. In addition, a regular support group or a group offering information and facilitating discussion, could be very helpful.

[19] I offer the following example as an illustration of what I am referring to - but tentatively - cognisant that only a separate dissertation can do justice to this complex discussion.

I explained that, even when *coerced* into sexual acts, men could experience sexual arousal, erection or ejaculation, due to stimulation of the prostate. I was attempting to normalise such experiences, which could induce additional shame and self-blame, related to survivors' questioning of their complicity in their abuse. However, I was aware that men awaiting trial for sexual offences against *women*, might, in court, opportunistically offer a woman's state of arousal as evidence that the sexual act in question was voluntary.

5.4 SUPERVISION GROUPS OF 'FRIENDS AGAINST ABUSE' *OBSERVATIONS INFORMING TRAINING AIMS, GOALS, CONTENT AND METHOD.*

"We [*therapists*] are people who know something about it, but really they know much more..."
(Herman, 1997, p. 138).

The 'supervision groups' constituted a forum of mutual learning and reflection for 'Friends' and facilitators. At that stage the group consisted of approximately ten people, predominantly male warders and inmates motivated to address the problem of rape within 'Male Admissions'. As they deemed it appropriate, some individuals disclosed the reasons for their incarceration. Two 'Friends' readily spoke of being ex-members of the 28 gang. It later transpired that a few of the inmates had been sentenced or were awaiting trial on charges of sexual offences; the majority had been sentenced, or were awaiting trial, for offences such as robbery or fraud.

In formal discussions and informal interactions, information was exchanged and misconceptions corrected. We offered support and affirmation to 'Friends', addressing their anxieties regarding work that was already being performed, whilst simultaneously providing information of practical value. For example, 'Friends' were working within the holding cells at that time, offering 'orientation' information to the groups of prisoners who had recently arrived from different Cape Peninsula courts. In enhancing awareness of the prison's culture and codes, they hoped to empower new inmates, thus limiting possibilities of potential abuse. In addition, men were educated about the group's function. They were informed about the availability of the 'Safe Cell' to those who felt vulnerable or had already been sexually assaulted in police stations or transportation vans, for example. In the 'supervision groups', we discussed the protocols they were using as guidelines for this preventive intervention, and role-played a 'Model of Containment', developed by Rape Crisis. (See Appendix B5.) We also heard the problems they were experiencing, which involved exploring their own feelings when they themselves first came to Pollsmoor.

The weekly 'supervision groups' were more valuable to us in preparation for training than all the other preparatory endeavours. The information we gained was crucial in informing our training goals and aims, and helped determine our choices of method and content. The issues raised, observations and assessments, are summarised in themes, which appear below:

5.4.1 TRUST AND MISTRUST

We discovered that the prison system is one based on power, negotiated through intricate systems of fear, control and command (Roux, 2002, p. 15). It engenders mistrust and alienation. As one member of 'Friends' expressed it: "You can trust no one here" (personal communication).

- Many of the men raped in prison are, or were, members of the 'number gangs'. What were the implications of accommodating them in the 'Safe Cell' with 'Franse' (non-gangsters) who had been raped by gangsters?
- Aware that all the men within 'Male Admissions' are convicted or suspected 'perpetrators' of crimes, how could a member of 'Friends' know when s/he was being manipulated or lied to; or feel sure that the services the group offered were not misdirected, or being abused?

As facilitators, we too were struggling with the implications of this perpetrator/ victim overlap, possessing similar concerns, queries and attitudes of scepticism. Acutely aware of our lack of experience, knowledge and understanding of this unfamiliar terrain, our preparation necessitated thorough investigation and contemplation of this complex dynamic. The training we offered needed to incorporate considerations of various manifestations and implications of this victim – perpetrator intersection; a forum for discussion of these variables should be created. In addition, we considered that we needed to address participants on a number of levels: as survivors of trauma, possible perpetrators themselves, and as people working simultaneously with perpetrators and victims.

5.4.7 FEELINGS

Many of the men in the group emphasised practical problems, such as inadequate health care and poor nutrition within Pollsmoor, rather than emotional concerns. We witnessed the difficulty they experienced in accessing and expressing their feelings. We were told that the rape survivors in the 'Safe Cell' had extreme difficulty in "even *knowing* that they have feelings" (personal communication).

As facilitators, we were aware that inmates and warders were confronted with violence and threat on a daily basis, the conditions of their lives included an expectation of trauma. An adaptational coping mechanism might involve 'cutting off' from most feelings (Masakis, 1996; Evans, 1999.) "When people depend for their lives on cruel regimes they need to cut their intelligence and awareness" (Sinason, 1992, p. 21). In one of the 'supervision groups', a facilitator therefore commented to the group that difficulty sustaining a focus on feelings could be a result of spending time in prison, an experience that necessitates a protective hardening of feelings and does not encourage a language of emotion.

In response, group members stressed that patterns of interaction 'outside', individual personalities and past experiences also contributed to this avoidance of feelings. As facilitators, we reflected that this could also be related to gender socialisation, which could serve to restrict men's experience and expression of emotions.

Thus informed, in training preparation we focused on developing methodologies that used evocative techniques to bring out emotions. We believed that without finding internal reference points and having an emotional connection to the content of the training, internalisation of the material would be limited. In 'supervision group' sessions, drawing and 'role-plays' were enthusiastically received. We concluded that the group was receptive to creative methods of training, and decided that we could safely proceed with incorporating them into the programme. However, evocative techniques would need to be balanced with meeting the articulated needs for information and practical assistance.

5.4.8 DEFENCE MECHANISMS – AVOIDANCE OF PAIN

Steadily, we became aware of a prevalence of 'denial', 'idealism' (Roberts, 1994), stoic optimism and, at times, 'grandiosity', operating within the group. Informed by psychoanalytic theory, we understood these to be central defences against difficult emotions. Experiencing sadness and loss, extreme fear, a sense of futility or lack of fulfilment, might be too painful or threatening to acknowledge. Denial of internal and external reality thus "...involves pushing certain thoughts, feelings and experiences out of conscious awareness because they have become too anxiety-provoking" (Halton, 1994, p.12). With regard to prison, Herman (1997) pertinently refers to inmates' abilities to hold contradictory beliefs simultaneously, and to alter perceptions of reality, as part of an essential strategy to limit physical pain and emotional experiences of terror and humiliation. I think this could equally apply to warders. She powerfully expresses:

> People in captivity become adept practitioners of the arts of altered consciousness. Through the practice of dissociation, voluntary thought suppression, minimisation, and sometimes outright denial, they learn to alter an unbearable reality. Ordinary psychological language does not have a name for this complex array of mental manoeuvers, at once conscious and unconscious (Herman, 1997, p. 87).

In the sessions there was a pervasive theme of positive thinking, which seemed unshakeable, even when challenged. Claims that 'Friends' could guarantee the protection and safety of rape survivors, seemed unrealistic, for example. These observations evoked conflicting responses in us.

We considered that one adaptive survival mechanism in prison might be to focus on the positive, to look towards an optimistic future rather than examine a stark or stagnant present. Embracing a religion could similarly offer reassurance to individuals, possibly decrease isolation and generate feelings of stability, predictability and hope (Stokes, 1994). When discussing characteristic coping mechanisms, we were impressed and humbled by inmates' descriptions of regular exercise regimes in their cells, of disciplined rituals of meditation or reading, or mastering a particular musical instrument. Herman pertinently refers to characteristic 'trance states': "Prisoners

frequently instruct one another in the induction of these states through chanting, prayer, and simple hypnotic techniques" (1997, p. 87). A hopeful focus could be viewed as healthy within a system that engenders little optimism. Within a group dedicated to addressing rape and other abuses, it might be an especially useful/ helpful mechanism to enable members to cope with a multitude of stresses.

On the other hand, we were concerned that denial and manic defences could cause damage to individuals. In Dartington's words: "Pathological defences are those which are mobilised in order to deny reality, to allow a really mad or unbearable situation to continue as if it were perfectly acceptable. ...The soft end of pathological defence is stoicism; the hard end is manic denial, a psychotic process that attempts to obliterate despair by manufacturing excitement. In manic states of mind people are oblivious to both pain and danger" (1994, p. 107).

In addition, we considered that they might prevent people from examining their own behaviour and accepting responsibility for their actions. For example, most group members denied that under stress, their usual coping mechanisms might give way to an occasional angry or aggressive response, although we had already observed actions or heard stories that contradicted these claims.

In preparing for the training ahead, we felt we needed to find ways of encouraging self-examination that could elicit acknowledgement of each person's contribution to violence and abuse. To such effect, appropriately timed and phrased challenges to denial seemed appropriate. However, we were concerned that the limited time frame of the training might not be adequate to do this effectively, and that additional damage could ensue if we succeeded in stripping away these defences without appropriate alternatives having been internalised.

On an organisational level, we were concerned that manic defences could "...obstruct contact with reality and in this way ... hinder the organisation in fulfilling its task and in adapting to changing circumstances" (Halton, 1994, p. 12). 'Friends' needs for affirmation and validation contrasted with alternating expressions of idealism and inflated or grandiose impressions of the impact of their work. As examples: Some group members felt that their actions had already succeeded in ending rape within the Admissions Centre. Warders who had evidence to the contrary refuted this claim. The group expressed their ambition to spread their work to other sections of Pollsmoor and to other prisons in the Western Cape. We had an impression that they saw themselves as healers, and seemed to be motivated to be heroes and saviours of the world.

As facilitators, we felt an obligation to incorporate considerations of realistic limits and expectations into the training. We resolved to find methods to curtail their ambitions, at least until the group was consolidated and functioning effectively within this section of Pollsmoor; and to impress on them the importance of moving slowly, methodically and thoroughly.

5.4.9 ON TRAINING COUNSELLORS: PRIMARY AIM OF TRAINING

The initial request from Pollsmoor was for counsellor training for 'Friends'. As consultants, we emphasised that we would assess individuals' suitability to act in a counselling capacity, through the 'supervision groups'. Group members had been informally selected, without assessment or screening. We were concerned that some individuals might not cope with the emotional impact of working with rape survivors, and also about the potential for misuse or abuse of the power intrinsic to the role of counsellor. We believed that no intervention that took power away from a rape survivor, could possibly contribute to his recovery (Obholzer *et al*, 1994; Herman, 1997).

Our concerns were expressed to the group in the following words:

> There is always power held within a counselling relationship. If used with appropriate empathy, self-awareness and reflection, it will facilitate growth of counsellor and client, and contribute towards healing. However, if misappropriated it can cause additional damage. It can subtly replicate corresponding dynamics of power and powerlessness, control and helplessness – which are at the core of experiences of rape. When rape occurs, a person has been violated physically, emotionally and psychologically. S/he can therefore be additionally vulnerable to subtle manipulations and dynamics of power that can occur within the counselling relationship (extract from a document outlining the proposed training).

After a few 'supervision groups', we concluded that we could not ethically embark on a process of training counsellors. We felt that their skills could be more usefully employed in different capacities, such as in the preventive and educational functions they were already executing. We resolved to further equip 'Friends' as 'facilitators'. Our primary task in the training was thus altered.

CHAPTER 6 DESCRIPTION OF TRAINING WORKSHOPS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

It is a challenge to describe the training process in a way that will do it full justice; to successfully represent its numerous changing textures and meanings. What follows is a brief overview of the training as a whole. It is succeeded by a description of two selected sessions, and facilitator evaluations of those successive workshops.

Additional information is contained in appendices, which include selected workshop outlines and materials we used in the training. These include examples of 'homework' exercises, evaluation templates and 'handouts'.

6.2 OVERVIEW: POLLSMOOR RAPE CRISIS TRAINING

The training consisted of a total of thirteen workshops over a period of six weeks between 28th August 2001 and 11th October 2001. The three-hour workshops were held twice a week, with the exception of one week's break in the middle of the programme, and an additional session in the last week.

Warders escorted facilitators and participants through passages and up stairs, unlocking gates as we moved through different sections of the prison. We gathered in a hall used as a mosque, on the top floor of Pollsmoor Admissions Centre. At times our voices competed with the noises from groups of men in the enclosed exercise yard below the room.

Facilitators comprised three women employed by Rape Crisis. We were all in our late twenties or early thirties, two of us 'white' and one a 'woman of colour'. Our personal backgrounds, qualifications and professional experience, and individual styles of training differed, often in a complementary way. For example, one facilitator's training experience had focused on the politics of difference and 'anti-bias' training. Her challenging and direct facilitation style contrasted, at times, with my less confrontational approach. Trained as a therapist, my facilitation style was often more indirect, with a focus on group dynamics. The third facilitator had specialised experience in the field of violence against women (VAW), and offered additional contributions, perspectives and knowledge to our team work.

We recruited the assistance of two external facilitators for one workshop each. The themes of these sessions corresponded to the women's expertise in working within Pollsmoor and with perpetrators of sexual offences.

We were unaware of who the participants would be up until the start of the training. Pollsmoor authorities assisted 'Friends' in identifying twenty-five participants. Each section of 'Male Admissions' was represented in the group. The idea was that at least one warder within each area could be called upon to respond to cases of reported sexual assault. It was envisaged that they would be equipped with the necessary skills and insights to empathetically approach rape survivors, and facilitate processes of medical examination and possible investigation of the incident. The group additionally comprised two interested social workers, and the warders and inmates who were members of 'Friends'. The final group of participants was therefore diverse, with a fair representation of different 'races', languages, religious persuasions, sexual preferences, and educational and professional backgrounds. Apart from three women, the participants were male.

As a group, we agreed to conduct the workshops in English, predominantly because the facilitators were most comfortable in that medium, and more familiar with English terminology for the concepts we hoped to convey. However, Afrikaans was frequently spoken, especially in small group discussions, as it was the majority of participants' first language. Xhosa-speaking warders were familiar with Afrikaans, as it is the dominant language used within Pollsmoor. Two participants were unfamiliar with the language – one inmate originally from Nigeria, another whose first language was Xhosa. Where necessary, we interpreted into different languages in an endeavour to ensure that every person understood all that transpired within the sessions.

During the training, each person was encouraged to embark on a process of self-reflection and personal growth. We structured exercises in which each person could explore his/ her feelings, attitudes and beliefs. We wished to create a contained and safe environment in which trust could develop, communication and debate could be facilitated, and information absorbed and techniques practised. This feminist approach to training is consistent with the notion of the containing 'therapeutic frame' that psychology emphasises (Salzberger-Wittenberg *et al*, 1994; Brothers, 1995; Casement, 1997).

To this end, we used incense, candles and music to create a nurturing physical environment. We utilised complementary training techniques, which included: didactic input, readings and handouts, 'homework' exercises, discussions in smaller groups (referred to as 'SG'), and with the entire group (referred to as 'BG'), evaluation procedures, evocative exercises designed to elicit feelings, and icebreakers and exercises designed to facilitate group processes.

The training programme started with an examination of the context of rape in society. This involved considerations of gender socialisation, power dynamics and the notion of 'masculinity'.

These concepts were then applied to the context of Pollsmoor. We examined the rape of men in prison: who rapes; who gets raped; why rape occurs and what the consequences for the rape survivor are: Rape Trauma Syndrome (RTS).

This section was followed by workshops that focused on practical issues and concerns. The work of the 'Friends' group was explored to assist them to conduct their work ethically. We examined ethics and the danger of abusing power in relation to rape survivors. Referral systems and support mechanisms that could be of assistance in ensuring the sustainability of the initiative, were discussed. These workshops explored prison policies, procedures and safety and healing mechanisms required for rape survivors. Prevention strategies were explored. Finally, vicarious traumatisation and burnout, and 'care for caregivers' were given attention. (See Table 2 entitled: 'Outline of the Training Programme' and attached appendices for selected workshop outlines.)

Two follow-up workshops for 'Friends' were planned. These aimed to translate theory into practical plans of action, and examine and refine the policies, procedures and protocols necessary to sustain their work.

In addition, a set of workshops for medical staff working in this and other sections of Pollsmoor were offered as complementary training. (See Appendix B4.) This training was intended to equip medical personnel with the skills to execute sensitive and thorough medical examinations of rape survivors. The workshops would incorporate considerations of referral networks, forensic reports and provision of PEP to survivors of rape.

TABLE 2: OUTLINE OF TRAINING PROGRAMME

WEEK 1	WORKSHOP 1 Tuesday 28 August **INTRODUCTION AND ORIENTATION TO TRAINING**	WORKSHOP 2 Thursday 30 August **Context of Rape in Society: GENDER SOCIALISATION AND POWER DYNAMICS**
WEEK 2	WORKSHOP 3 Tuesday 4 September **Context of Rape in Society: POWER AND MASCULINITY**	WORKSHOP 4 Thursday 6 September **POWER AND MASCULINITY (Continued...)**
WEEK 3	WORKSHOP 5 Tuesday 11 September **'WHY DO MEN RAPE?' VICTIM/ PERPETRATOR DYNAMICS**	WORKSHOP 6 Thursday 13 September **'WHAT IS RAPE?' DEFINITIONS AND MYTHS**
	NO WORKSHOP	*NO WORKSHOP*
WEEK 4	WORKSHOP 7 Tuesday 25 September **POWER WITHIN PRISON CONTEXT — WHAT IS RAPE IN POLLSMOOR**	WORKSHOP 8 Thursday 27 September **EFFECTS OF RAPE OF MEN IN PRISON — 'RAPE TRAUMA SYNDROME'**
WEEK 5	WORKSHOP 9 Wednesday 3 October **RAPE TRAUMA SYNDROME AND STAGES OF RECOVERY (Continued...)**	WORKSHOP 10 Thursday 4 October **INTRODUCTION TO FACILITATION SKILLS:** ▪ **EMPATHY/ LISTENING** ▪ **DANGERS OF MISUSING POWER IN CARE-GIVING ROLES**
WEEK 6	WORKSHOP 11 Tuesday 9 October **'INTRODUCTION TO FACILITATION SKILLS' REVIEW OF 'CONTAINMENT MODEL' (Continued...)**	WORKSHOP 12 Wednesday 10 October **POLICIES, GUIDELINES AND PROTOCOLS**
	WORKSHOP 13 Thursday 11 October **'CARING FOR CAREGIVERS':** ▪ **BOUNDARIES** ▪ **VICARIOUS TRAUMATISATION** ▪ **EVALUATION** ▪ **FAREWELL AND CLOSURE**	

6.3 DESCRIPTION OF TRAINING: SELECTED WORKSHOPS

6.3.1 ORIENTATION TO THIS SECTION

In order to accurately represent and describe processes within the training, I chose two sessions that were particularly challenging to us as facilitators. The consecutive workshops are described below in edited versions of facilitators' evaluations of each session. (See Appendices C5 and C6 for detailed session outlines, and refer to Appendix C10.1 for the format that we used to structure our evaluations.) Pertinent issues arising from these sessions are elaborated within the discussion of Chapter 7.

The evaluations were written directly after each workshop. They describe certain dilemmas and difficulties with which we grappled. They also serve to illustrate pertinent contributions of psychodynamic thinking and the application of research and training methodologies to our work. Although a few alterations have been made for clarity and ease of reading, the tone and content of the originals has been retained, thus representing our immediate reflections. My deliberations within these notes, should therefore also convey the emotional impact that the work had on us.[20]

6.3.2 SUMMARISED FACILITATORS' EVALUATION OF TRAINING WORKSHOP SEVEN *POWER DYNAMICS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF PRISON '– WHAT IS RAPE WITHIN POLLSMOOR?'*

6.3.2.1 OUTLINE OF THE CONTENT

Workshop Seven was designed to focus specifically on rape and sexual assault within Pollsmoor, informed by the group's previous considerations of rape in a broader societal context. (See Appendix C5 for detailed workshop outline.)

As the session followed a break of a week, an icebreaker and introductory comments were intended to re-orient participants. The exercise that followed was designed to draw out differing perceptions of how power operates within Pollsmoor, informed by previous discussions of interconnecting dynamics of power, masculinity and gender. In SGs, participants were asked to assess which groups and/ or roles within 'Male Admissions', held and exerted the most influence, through placing labels on a representative 'triangle of hierarchies'. Within discussions facilitators questioned whether power was absolute or negotiable. If there was a layer of subversion within

[20] Reviewing the evaluations, it was interesting to note that a tone of confusion and disorientation dominated my written review of Session 7, in contrast to the tone of Session 8. A discourse analysis of each original text could produce further interesting observations of the feelings elicited within each session and the corresponding effects on thought processes. This is beyond the scope of this paper, however.

entrenched hierarchies, how might it operate? We explored possible links to how and why rape occurs within Pollsmoor.

After a tea break, participants listened to an audiotape of rape survivor testimonies selected from USA SPR literature. The extracts had been pre-recorded in a male South African accent. A member of the training group then read a portion of the testimony of a man who had survived rape within Pollsmoor itself (Oersen, 2001). Corresponding with the workshop's theme, the selection of extracts focused on how and why rape occurs within prisons, encompassing a consideration of gang dynamics and prison codes, for example.

Within discussions that followed, we explored participants' perceptions of who gets raped within prison, and how and why it occurs. Facilitators drew links to the previous exercise on power, highlighting the difficulties of defining rape clearly in a prison context, as coercion could be implicit even in situations where there might be ostensible consent.

After a brief closing exercise, participants were asked to consider how a man might feel after he had been raped, in preparation for the next workshop.

6.3.2.2 OUR OVERALL IMPRESSIONS OF THE WORKSHOP

Although we felt that the workshop design and execution had been smooth, and that we had succeeded in meeting our objectives, we were concerned about the following observations, that each of us had made independently of the others:

- We discerned a pervasive lack of energy and enthusiasm within the group.
- There was little participant engagement with the content of the session.
- Participants initiated minimal contact with us as facilitators.
- There was little interaction amongst participants, even during the tea break.
- Many participants were absent from the session, which was unusual. Some people had valid reasons, but it was difficult for the group to even identify who the missing members were. Many participants arrived late for the session.
- There were no eager 'Friends' waiting at the first gate that allowed us access to the corridors of Male Admissions. This was also extremely unusual: we had become accustomed to a number of escorts to the training room.
- In this session, the women seemed more alert and active than the men – the inmates in particular. This too constituted an unusual occurrence.
- By the end of the session, the air felt tangibly 'thick'. It was apparent that the group was finding it very difficult to concentrate. Twice men fell asleep, as early as in the introduction to the workshop. Perhaps they were 'carrying' or expressing something for the group, which the other participants may not, therefore, have needed to feel or express as keenly themselves (Halton, 1994)?

We were baffled by this dynamic. We wondered why we had not been able to think about it within the workshop itself, just as the participants had not seemed able to hear, integrate, and interact with the workshop material. It was only with hindsight and physical distance from Pollsmoor that we were able to think clearly and discover meaning. Hypotheses on its precise nature and causes, emerged much later in discussions and through supervision.

6.3.2.3 DESCRIPTIONS OF THE EXERCISES

After an icebreaker 'word-wheel', exercise, we had started the workshop with a review of the group contract and an outline of the past and future sessions. In doing so, we emphasised that our interaction was finite, and perhaps we did not fully address feelings they might have had during the week's break. We had arrived late. Our transgression of this aspect of the therapeutic frame might have reinforced an idea that the group was not important to us.

We then proceeded to an exercise assessing the power that different groups exerted within Pollsmoor - the 'Power Triangle'. People participated with serious contemplation of the power dynamics and hierarchies operative. In retrospect, it might have been poorly placed as an exercise, given our later hypotheses regarding the prevalent group dynamic, which we began to link to feelings of chaos, abandonment and/ or lack of containment. Almost every participant was forced to identify his or her own lack of power. Most of the 'Friends' placed the group at the bottom of the hierarchy, for example. The male warders were placed below all the other authority figures and institutional bodies that govern Pollsmoor; and even the prisoners with privileges were placed beneath the warders and the gangsters. This exercise might well have elicited further feelings of hopelessness and helplessness, potentially reinforced in the remainder of the session.

For the first time thus far in the training, we had decided that we would not facilitate the small group discussions. This decision was based on our thinking that it might be time to let the group members work on their own; demonstrate their own group dynamic, and test their independence from us. This did not work well – some of the group discussions seemed to become tangential, some remained superficial. In addition, facilitators missed out on the process and content of what was discussed. After the session, we reflected that we needed to be there to ensure that the work was done effectively. If our hypotheses were correct, this first absence of facilitation, in this workshop *particularly*, might have led to additional or enhanced feelings of lack of containment and/ or abandonment, especially if participants had been made acutely aware of their powerlessness.

The South African male rape testimony read by a group member, was very evocative. The personal and pertinent testimony from a man raped in Pollsmoor, which seemed to effect all

participants. (See Appendix C5.) Generally, the audiotape testimonies elicited clear emotional responses, which was what we had hoped for, in planning the session. However, given this particular group dynamic, the testimonies might have been experienced as overly intense and overwhelming for the group. Our over-all feeling was that the workshop as a whole might well have been (unconsciously) experienced as persecutory.

6.3.2.4 HYPOTHESES TO ACCOUNT FOR THE GROUP DYNAMICS

Hypotheses that could account for the atmosphere of flatness and detachment in this session, included these pertinent ones:

We provided a link to the outside world for many participants. Warders had expressed pleasure at the diversion and inspiration the training represented within the bleakness of their prison routine. Inmates had little contact with the outside world – sometimes as a result of dynamics in their personal relationships; circumstances such as distance from home and family finances; and inevitably, as a result of the concept of incarceration which incorporates a 'privilege system' that grants or revokes visits. We might have represented contact with the outside, a "break from the stasis of their lives, a brief hiatus" (supervisor, personal communication). In addition, we were women, a novelty in this all-male environment. There was little that was affirming, nurturing or healing within this environment. Within Pollsmoor, we offered an unfamiliar space of relative safety, where it was possible to talk and be heard. For some group participants, we had provided their first exposure to a workshop. At the very least, we offered a twice-weekly diversion from boredom.

The break in sessions might have reminded the group that we were not going to be in Pollsmoor indefinitely. The stasis of prison existence would continue after our departure. Emotional responses to this awareness might have included resignation and withdrawal, incorporating an element of passive aggression, arising from feeling wounded. In the session we experienced an almost sulky petulance, which might be a characteristic gender-typed response to feelings of disappointment. However, this response cannot be accounted for solely in terms of male gender-socialisation, as many groups exhibit such responses within anticipated group dynamics. (Bion, 1989). In addition, as Knox highlights: "Life for many prisoners loses its normal time-scale, and the desire for immediate gratification of need becomes intensified" (1996, p. 19).

Significantly, in this workshop, we focused on rape in Pollsmoor. All participants were acutely aware of, and concerned by, the problem of sexual violation in the prison, and had some idea of its psychological consequences. We were also aware that some participants had been raped, and knew that others had participated in acts of sexual violation. A few group members were ready to

admit that they were rapists, but few participants were ready to disclose that they were survivors of rape. It might have felt extremely threatening, or even overwhelming, to have to examine such personal issues. Feelings of anxiety or sadness might well be inevitable reactions. Even disregarding these personal variables, our research had shown that a pervasive silence and secrecy surrounds the rape of men in South Africa.

Within supervision, we had begun to ask questions, such as: "How can we proceed with training on the dynamics of rape if the first step of acknowledging that one has been raped, is not made? Perhaps the space is not sufficiently safe to encourage such disclosure. Perhaps it never will be?" We had repeatedly observed the prevalence of denial and suppression of uncomfortable emotions within the group. These defences were all the more likely to be evoked in a session dealing with prison rape. Moylan writes: "Without defences, people are likely to succumb to despair, illness or withdrawal" (1994, p.55). We wondered if we had pushed participants' defences too hard within this session. As facilitators, we expected, even demanded, disclosure and trust from participants. However, participants might have felt unwilling to risk exposure, or to trust the tenuous confidentiality offered by the group.

In retrospect, we felt we had designed an overly intense and demanding workshop. The content alone could be perceived as persecutory. First, we had reminded the group that we were leaving, and that they would remain behind to deal with the problems without our assistance. We had then conducted an exercise that evoked a generalised feeling of powerlessness within the system of the ironically named 'Department of Correctional Services'. Finally, we had proceeded to explore rape in prison.

The group was probably not consciously aware of the source of their discomfort. We were not certain about it either, but it is possible that they needed our containment or an interpretation of it at that time *most* acutely. We did not offer it within the structure of that session.

6.3.2.5 FACILITATORS' FEELINGS

This workshop had been preceded by a week's break from the course. We realised how essential the break from facilitation had been, to ensure our capacity to persevere and work effectively. It had allowed us time to reflect, plan and assess the training programme. We felt more energetic and positive about the training. We were satisfied that we had managed to maintain our own equilibrium within this workshop.

Each of us had recognised, during the gap between workshops, that this work had started to significantly impact on our lives. At times during the training process, the pressure of the

unfamiliar work and multiple demands on our time, added to our sense of stimulation and excitement. However, on other occasions they contributed to anxiety and stress, possibly exacerbated by variables including elements of perfectionism and over-ambition (Roberts, 1994). As Jefferson humorously summarises: "Find the right balance and it can be exhilarating, lose your grip and it becomes a living, perspiring nightmare" (1990, p. 44).

The institution of prison had started to impact on our lives and dominate our thoughts. For example, we noticed with humour that we had quite rapidly become 'institutionalised'. We were inclined to wait passively for unlocked prison gates to be unlocked for us, without checking to see if they were open. Whyte *et al* pertinently reflect that "*(t)* he way we think about problems is shaped to a considerable extent by the social setting in which we find ourselves..." (1991, p. 42). We had also begun to observe a gradual 'shut- down' and suppression of emotions that had succeeded the initial intensity of our emotional responses to this environment.

For us as facilitators, the break was an opportunity to heal from feelings of abuse and vicarious violation that had been evoked within the previous workshops. For example, when male participants attacked women as a class, we had experienced the expression of stereotypical sexist attitudes as personal assaults, even symbolic rape.

Our independent, but similar, choices to work in the field of consciousness-raising; our feelings of identification with women primarily, and our commitment to working towards women's empowerment, had been a source of strength in this work, but simultaneously a source of potential vulnerability. Our conviction was that the prison population is an oppressed and marginalised group within society, reflecting race and class discrimination. It deserved and required interventions that included advocacy and rehabilitative services. This belief had not been sufficient to sustain our morale and enthusiasm through the training process, nor to protect us from emotional stress. We had started to felt drained and exhausted, despite the help of personal resources, organisational backing, team support and sensitive supervision. At times we looked forward to the termination of this intense programme.

Our capacity for compassion and empathy had been sorely stretched. We had had to confront the fact that 'victims' could be, and frequently were, simultaneously perpetrators of violence. Men who were raped in prison might well leave prison with multiple unacknowledged experiences of trauma and unexpressed feelings of de-masculinisation, and rape women and children outside in an attempt to restore their battered sense of 'masculinity'. If we could contribute to altering this cycle of violence, and save even one woman or child from experiencing rape, we would have

succeeded in our self-generated task. Within this predominately unarticulated goal, we opened ourselves to experiencing sobering reality checks!

In the previous workshops, we had been testing new methodologies and less familiar programme content. Focusing on the context of violence in society, challenging values and entrenched beliefs, we had been unsure of participants' responses but acutely aware of the intensity of emotions generated within each of us.

Approaching the last half of the training, the contents of the proposed workshops were more factual, practical and goal–directed than the previous ones. Facilitating with familiar knowledge and experience, gave us power. We therefore approached this set of sessions with greater personal confidence, 'groundedness' and focus. However, for the group, especially the prisoners, we were moving into a world which encompassed their powerlessness and loss of agency. The group might have felt distressed by our imminent departure. What we had gained, they had lost. Our renewed strength after the break may well have been unconsciously communicated to the group, possibly as triumph or relief.

We wished that we had understood and 'caught' this dynamic earlier than we did. We felt that the session would have worked better if we had been able to anticipate, prepare for or address the group dynamic at that time. As Casement articulates: "The most obvious time when a firm understanding is necessary is when a patient *(or group, in this case)* feels in crisis and needs containment" (1997, p. 219).

We also felt a sense of shame that in failing to foresee or address this dynamic, we may unwittingly have done what we had consciously tried to prevent. This would have been to act, in a stereotypically patriarchal manner, out of a retaliatory urge for revenge for the abuse we had felt subjected to earlier in the training.

However, after much reflection, we concluded that we had largely managed to contain our impulses to counter-attack and project hatred onto the group (Winnicott, 1984, pp. 194 -203; Mawson, 1994; Roberts, 1994). In fact, the facilitation styles we adopted in this session might well have been less confrontational than in previous sessions. We felt that this might have been an appropriate, if unconscious, response to the group's needs; and thus served as one positive reflection on our facilitation.

6.3.2.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

In an attempt to understand what had occurred within this session, and how to rectify the problem, we immersed ourselves in a complex process of examination. We formed and tested different

hypotheses, and strategised to re-direct the group process. The process of discovering the exact nature of the 'pain' we perceived within the session, involved considering transference dynamics within the group, and paying attention to all aspects of our countertransference feelings (Moylan, 1994; Casement, 1997; Herman, 1997). This session therefore illustrates benefits of using a psychodynamic framework that considers group dynamics. Halton summarises: "The psychoanalytically oriented consultant takes up a listening position on the boundary between conscious and unconscious meanings, and works simultaneously with problems at both levels. It may be some time before the consultant can pick up and make sense of these hidden references to issues of which the group itself is not aware " (1994, p. 12).

Overall, we believed that we had managed to effect a professional service, and were exhilarated by how much we had learnt. We resolved to use our fresh insights with care and responsibility. We hoped to re-create a space in which participants would be able to absorb the content of the training, once we had attended to their anxieties. We made plans to do so practically within the next session.

6.3.3 SUMMARISED FACILITATORS' EVALUATION OF TRAINING WORKSHOP EIGHT *'THE EFFECTS OF RAPE ON MEN IN PRISON'*

6.3.3.1 OUTLINE OF THE CONTENT

The eighth workshop was designed to explore the physical, emotional and behavioural consequences of being raped in prison. (See Appendix C6 for detailed workshop outline.) However, our primary goal was to address the problematic group dynamic that we had perceived within the previous session. We therefore prioritised eliciting, discussing and containing participants' emotions.

At the outset, we referred to the air of depression we had noticed in the previous session, and offered possible interpretations. The first exercise was accordingly constructed to reconnect participants with one another and explore their feelings. They were asked to draw pictures reflecting their current concerns, and share these in small groups.

After a review of the content of the previous workshop, participants were invited to watch video clips and read testimonies of male rape survivors, which focused on the consequences of having experienced sexual assault. SG discussions followed, with an emphasis on exploring participants' emotional responses to the extracts, and containing their anxieties. The groups debated whether the rape of men in prison was intrinsically different from the rape of women, and discussed their perspectives of the consequences of being raped in Pollsmoor.

The workshop ended with a playful physical exercise intended to release any remaining stresses.

6.3.3.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE WORKSHOP

Regrettably, very few warders were present, as they were required to assist in the relocation of a few hundred prisoners to other prisons. Some of the inmates were late, and we started the session a bit later than anticipated. This was explained by the fact that their movements are often at the whim of the warders, who unlock gates at unpredictable times and with little regard for inmates' commitments. Some participants spoke about their pressure to get to the workshops in time, and their relief that we ourselves had been late on occasion. Despite the generosity contained in this expression, it may have contained a valid element of chastising us for the anxiety they had felt as a result of our not maintaining firm enough boundaries.

At the outset of the session, the group heard our expressions of concern about the previous session's dynamic and the hypotheses we offered. Our speculation that the difficult group dynamic might have arisen from these sessions being 'closer to home' - that is, unacknowledged trauma and living with the reality or fear of rape in prison - seemed to be confirmed. Participants wrote in their evaluations of the session:

- You guys should know that you are doing brilliantly - no doubt about that, but you need to understand that most of this stuff is extremely uncomfortable, so sometimes we will be very tense, dealing with our own responses.
- I am glad that I am beginning to deal with my own trauma!

We felt that we had met our objectives for the session, particularly in terms of addressing the group's emotional needs and containing individuals' anxieties. An atmosphere of heaviness was still present, but the discomfort could be alluded to more easily. The first exercise, derived from art therapy, in an attempt to elicit emotions, to further explore their lived experiences, and emotionally re-connect with the participants, was probably the most effective part of the workshop in this regard.

A number of the drawings represented the denial of pain as a prevalent defence mechanism. Drawings of rainbows, optimistic figures and fruitful trees, were some examples. Once again, I believed this denial to be an adaptive and protective response, given that most inmates faced some years of prison life ahead. "To ... lock up your body and soul, to avoid thinking and know nothing offers some safety. The safety lies in avoiding experiencing too keenly the trauma of loss" (Sinason, 1992, p. 217).

Some drawings reflected the struggle and confusion that other participants experienced, and their hope for an end to the symbolically represented 'tunnel of darkness', with drawings of heartbeats,

winding roads and going around in circles, for example. "There must be way of getting out" (comment by participant).

Participants' reflections of what they had gained from the content of the workshop, were encouraging:

- *Personal and work life are inextricably connected*
- *Change begins with me*
- *I might actually be an abuser of women, yet before this course I have never considered that I must take care to examine whether I am taking or demanding that which is not mine to take without consideration for their/her feelings (paraphrased).*

The videos worked well, somewhat to our surprise. In planning, we did not reach consensus on the responses we anticipated, but each of us had defensively expected some derision and stereotypical responses based on gender stereotypes. We had anticipated some negative reactions to our focus on women in the videos, for example. We had wondered if the testimony from the "World Court of Women Against War, for Peace" (El Taller, 1999)[21] would elicit defensive responses or a lack of engagement, as the testimony was of a young black girl in a situation of war. Most participants, however, declared that her 'race' and where she was living, were irrelevant in their consideration of the effects of her abuse. Most were moved by the feelings elicited in them. They responded with questions about her safety, procedures for ensuring that her rapist was caught and served an appropriate sentence.

Possibly this testimony reminded them of their own children, and generally evoked empathy as it was spoken by an innocent, young girl who might well have been seen to require more protection and deserve less abuse, than an adult in the same situation.

There was less engagement with the male rape testimonies than with the others, which was challenged in some of the small group discussions. I thought that this might be accounted for in a number of ways, including that the male testimonies had been read by the men themselves, and not all of these readings had been particularly coherent. Pertinently, my intimation of an element

[21] As part of a selection of video clips that we showed to illustrate a variety of manifestations of rape and its consequences, we included a testimony of a teenager who had been raped by her guardian. She spoke in Nairobi, Kenya, in July 1999, as part of the Africa Court of Women ('Mahakama Wa Mama Wa Africa') organised by El Taller and other NGOs. These courts were a deeply symbolic attempt to define a new space for women; a new politics:

This eye
Is not for weeping
It's vision
Must be unblurred
Though tears are on my face it's intent is clarity
It must be forgotten
It must forget
nothing

of denial operating within the group, is consistent with other literature on the rape of men. Individually, the men might have found it easier to empathise with the pain of others at a greater remove from themselves, such as young girls, or engage with their own pain less directly as parents, rather than confront their personal vulnerability within the prison system. The following quote tends to endorse this interpretation:

> This willingness to address violence against children more easily than that against adults serves a specific function. It feeds into our collective denial, a refusal to recognise that men are not the ultimate providers and protectors of themselves and others. We can easily believe that a child might not be able to defend himself *(sic)* against an adult, but the sexual violation of a man may come as something of a shock, for men have traditionally been expected to defend their own boundaries and limits while maintaining control, especially sexual control, of their own bodies. When this does not occur, when men are raped by other men, society tends to silence and erase them rather than acknowledge the vulnerability of masculinity and manhood (Scarce, 1997, p.9).

We were pleased by responses that acknowledged the importance of 'testimony', of women speaking out and being heard, and delighted that some male participants perceived this breaking of silence as having important political and personal significance.

This might have been related to their understanding of our role as facilitators and the subtext within their invitation to us to do this training. In line with this hypothesis, we had been invited to 'bear witness' and expose the reality of rape in prison to the outside world; decrease rape survivors' isolation, and challenge the prevailing silence. In Sinason's words: "When any one person opens her eyes and sees something more clearly it allows others to do the same" (1992, p. 7).

The session ended positively. The closing exercise afforded participants a chance to stretch, laugh and shake off the feelings evoked in the session. The open-ended evaluation that followed, was effective in eliciting uncensored anonymous responses, thus serving as a useful gauge of the group's concerns in feedback to us.

As soon as we were outside the prison, we commented that we were hungry. We frequently wanted to eat after the sessions. I wondered if it was simply 'because we could' - the answer male group members had given in response to the question of why men rape. Through flaunting one of inmates' primary restrictions, were we expressing our freedom? However, we worked hard and needed sustenance to replenish us physically and nurture us symbolically. In eating, we were also symbolically 'digesting' our experiences. A Jungian perspective offers an additional angle, which corresponds with my reflections on the paradoxes that challenged us in this work. The following interpretation was consistent with my awareness that we were confronted with the integration of 'Anima' and 'Animus' during this period within 'Male Admissions'. "In body

symbolism the developing Animus may manifest in a voracious appetite, the appetite of a growing boy, that is, the growing boy within the woman, in this case" (Chetwynd, 1982, p. 21).

6.3.3.3 CONCLUDING COMMENTS AND FACILITATORS' FEELINGS:

After this workshop, we felt relieved, excited and uplifted. We considered that the session's success might have been a direct result of the care with which it had been prepared, and a derivative of our deliberations regarding the group process. Exploring perceptions of our own short-falls/ faults, was useful for participants, and to us: "To pretend to more knowledge than you have rather than face openly what you do not know, is indeed handicapping" (Sinason, 1992, p. 18). Planning a sensitive strategy with which to address the problematic dynamic, had enabled us to contain feelings and in this way assist the group to move forward (Mawson, 1994).

Facilitators were able to contain both expressed and unacknowledged feelings. In the small group discussions, we did not push or challenge too hard, but modelled listening and containment skills. We were aware of our crucial role at this time, almost maternal, in respecting defences and providing a caring space. 'Re-nurturing' was effected through our non-judgmental stance and modelling of an interest in each person's life. Increased animation of affect and conversations with us during the tea break, was suggestive of its success.

Undoubtedly our attitude and attention to feelings rescued the group process and enabled us to continue working more effectively. For us as facilitators it served to confirm once more the validity and importance of feminist and process-oriented modes of training. (However, the choice of the word 'rescued', could be construed as adopting a heroic or 'saviour' modality, similar to that observed within the group itself.)

Upon closure, we were satisfied that we had managed to re-connect with the group. Each of us felt more personally connected to group members and once more capable of empathy. We felt our 'outsider' status less acutely. Our confidence in a mutually constructed process of learning had been restored.

We spent more time on feelings and less on the planned content of the session, which meant that we were involved in a domino effect of having to make up the time elsewhere. This was a problem even though we firmly believed it was necessary and appropriate to focus on feelings within this workshop.

6.4 REFLECTIONS ON PARTICIPANTS' EVALUATIONS OF THE TRAINING

'The anticipation of outcomes guarantees, if not failure, the absence of grace'
(Gibson, 1999, extract from *All tomorrow's parties*).

The final evaluations from participants were positive and affirmed that we had managed to navigate our way satisfactorily through a sea of overwhelmingly complex issues.[22]

6.4.1 OVERVIEW

The following quotes from participants' evaluations[23] suggest that the training had achieved the objectives of facilitating personal development and encouraging self-reflection, as well as equipping participants with useful information:

- I become in touch with the survivors.
- Some issues were not easy to deal with, but those were challenges that encouraged a lot of growth.
- … *(I)*t effected me positively in the sense I now know more about myself and how to be a help to cope with stress and frustrations.
- It was not only very educational, but also spiritual and that made it a great success.
- With all the knowledge we've been given, the various exercises, and the workshops, and notes to reflect on. I feel equipped but there are still some areas that need brushing up on.
- I think that Friends Against Abuse needed to attend this course to obtain a deeper insight and understanding to what we are going to be dealing with! I think that they could use this knowledge and put a reflect lock on to what they have learned and put it into practice.

The programme followed a sequence that was coherent to the facilitators, but not known to the participants. We were pleased to note that the flow of content made sense to some individuals, retrospectively. All components of the training were referred to in the participants' evaluations, even sessions that we had felt were weak, such as the session on 'Masculinity', which participants understood as meaningful in relation to the challenges that rape poses to a man's sense of 'manhood'.

Participants reflected that they had gained considerable insight through being challenged in the sessions exploring gender socialisation and power dynamics. Although one of the expressed aims of the training was to evoke introspection and challenge attitudes that lead to violence against women, we were often doubtful about whether this could be achieved. Yet, the comments

[22] Our critical appraisals of each component of this training, including self-evaluations, were also indispensable tools of assessment.

[23] The quotes included in this section are verbatim statements extracted from participants' evaluations. As they are unaltered, apart from a few minor spelling adjustments, some are not grammatically sound. Extracted from responses to particular questions, which are not printed, their context may be slightly obscured. (See Appendix E13 for the template of 'Participant Evaluation Form'.)

below affirmed our belief that feminists using sound methodology and ethical training practice, could succeed in working with men:

- Females are not just tools for man's pleasure.
- Most of it put me back into my past life as a perpetrator and somehow make me feel responsible for many things that's happening in prison today.
- ... *(B)y* that *(the power session)* I learn that we can sometimes be very abusive with our power without realising it and people get hurt through that.
- Discussions and exercises around socialisation and gender and power - can use this in challenging clients with whom I work. Also challenged my own beliefs/ views.
- The day a facilitator said that every one is a potential rapist. Why because I don't want to be like that. Why do men rape? Because I ask myself you love women and sometimes just want what you want. But not by FORCE.
- I'm now aware of the kind of rape that's available and no-matter the situation, using a vulnerable person sexually does not mean it's right, and I'm glad you had come and open my eyes before its too late.

6.4.2 IMPACT ON ATTITUDES OF TOLERANCE AND LACK OF JUDGEMENT

Within the training, tolerance of other people's attitudes, beliefs and differences was modelled and encouraged:

- I am not the same person after this, I do not only acknowledge and respect the fact that people have differences, but through active dialogue we can reach common ground.
- Realising that I often focus, when thinking of people who are different from me, on that thing that makes us different rather than all those things that make us human and worth respecting.
- This course challenges beliefs/ views that NEED to be changed
- *(Facilitators)* showed a great deal of compassion which probably made a huge difference to how receptive I was.

In a parallel process, the facilitators were similarly challenged to be more accepting. Our tolerance was stretched by working with perpetrators of violent crimes against women: we had to examine our own prejudices, preconceived ideas, sexism and lack of empathy.[24]

6.4.3 PARTICIPANTS' FEELINGS OF SADNESS ON TERMINATION OF TRAINING

Most of the participants felt sad at the end of the training process, as they would no longer enjoy the interaction with outsiders; the break from the routine of work and life within prison; the opportunities for stimulation, or the unusual space for inmates and warders to work and talk together.

- *(I feel)* a little sad partly because it became part of my life here, which challenged my whole outlook.

[24] "...I have tried to look at people different from me with the kind of compassion I would like to have directed toward me" (Dorothy, 1994, p.73). Expressed by many feminists, this tolerance is also encompassed within a psychoanalytic attitude: " Psychoanalytically oriented consultants ... bring from psychoanalysis a certain stance or frame of mind: to search for understanding without being judgmental either of their clients or of themselves" (Halton, 1994, p.18).

- *(I feel sad)* having to take leave of the people from Rape Crisis.

This sadness is an anticipated reflection of feelings of attachment and subsequent loss at most terminations (Gray, 1994). This might be especially pertinent for the inmates, given the complex dynamics of separation evoked by being involuntarily incarcerated. We had anticipated the participants' feelings of loss and sadness, and were relieved that they were expressed in the paper evaluations, as they had not been expressed verbally in the final sessions. We had wondered if this was in part another demonstration of gender socialisation, in which men are not encouraged to acknowledge painful feelings.

Reflecting on our own sadness, as facilitators, we wondered if we might be carrying some of the group's unarticulated feelings about termination. However, we had our own separate sense of attachment and subsequent loss, too. We had built relationships with people in the group, and the regular workshops had become part of all of our lives during those weeks. The pressure of performance and the work of preparation, planning, and evaluation had ended. However, the training had also provided stimulation, purpose, challenge and structure, and we too, would have to adjust to its absence. At the closure of the training, we were struggling with the very dynamics we had cautioned the group against – including over-commitment and pushing boundaries. Despite various preparations and safeguards, we found it difficult to 'walk away' and 'let go'.

6.4.4 CONSTITUTION OF PARTICIPANTS

Every section of Male Admissions, and different 'race' and language groups, were represented within the relatively big group of participants.

All participants expressed appreciation at the opportunity for communication between warders and inmates that the training facilitated. I had initially been concerned that the power dynamics between the two sectors would impact negatively on the training, as the prison system has a history of opposing camps that operate in a military style, often incorporating punitive and aggressive styles of communication (Africa Watch Prison Project, 1994; Roux, 2002). I had been concerned that the two different sectors might not have felt free to express their opinions and concerns in each other's presence, and had even attempted to persuade the group to agree to separate training processes.

My hypothesis, however, was incorrect. The participants valued hearing different perspectives, challenging each other and exchanging ideas and opinions. The training offered an unusual opportunity for inmates and warders, traditionally divided, to come together as equals working

towards a common goal. This was, in my opinion, one of the most important spin-offs of the training.

- It was good by that fact that I know there are others who are also interested in combating crimes of rape and other abuse.
- Something new - and something great because it has given a different insight into who these individuals are and what their intentions are.
- It was interesting to see how differently both parties think and relate to the same issues. I think the levels of position played a big role.
- It was incredible. Everyone was treated the same level, even if you're a warden or a maximum prisoner.

6.4.5 TRUST AND SAFETY IN THE GROUP

Participants' responses to the evaluation question of whether they felt safe enough to share their private thoughts with the group confirmed what we had been told about mistrust within prison walls. Most participants had felt some discomfort and lack of trust within the group during the training period:

- I honestly have tried to, but 6 weeks is a short period to really feel safe enough and open too.
- Sometimes yes, sometimes no, especially when I felt that some people were coming from a judgmental attitude. Sometimes I thought 'Aag what the hell, I must just share it anyway'.
- It was a challenge! It was a concern issue of a very delicate nature! Would they joke about it take it seriously. Would they attend all seminars.

In all group processes, trust develops slowly and is constantly tested. (Bion, 1984; Bion, 1989). We had anticipated that the issue of trust would be dominant in this group process, given the power differentials between men and women, differing roles and authorities between warders, power differentials between warders and inmates, differing privileges afforded to inmates, dynamics of race and class and different levels of formal education. In addition, we were working within a community characterised by continuous trauma, and knew that "...trauma and trust disturbances are fundamentally interrelated" (Brothers, 1995, p. 55). Further, our focus was rape. There were both rape survivors and perpetrators of sexual assault in the group, and one of the dominant consequences of rape is a break of trust. (Herman, 1997). Given these variables operating within the concrete walls of Pollsmoor, it seemed quite remarkable that a relatively safe space was constructed, and a degree of trust developed and sustained, during the training period.

During the 'supervision groups', members of 'Friends' had become familiar with us and had begun to trust us. This was an asset at the start of the training process. However, as hypothesised, trust was not generalised to other groups or individuals working within Pollsmoor, or other organisations. This increased our difficulty in handing over the process.

We needed to consider if we had contributed to this dependence by holding on too tightly or risking too little.[25] Throughout the training, we had needed to be very active, constantly encouraging discussion and asking questions to facilitate the development of ideas and thinking. We had hoped that the group would develop its own norms and 'life' as the process gained its own momentum; but this was never fulfilled. We felt that the group needed us as facilitators to monitor the process, challenge ideas and to be protective, where necessary. We remained the primary reference points in group discussions. The group did not constitute itself independently.

6.4.6 FACILITATION

- *Good/ Teamwork. The team complement one another.*

We had worked well as a team of facilitators. We each brought different skills and knowledge to the training, and learned from one another. Increasingly, we grew to rely on the other two facilitators when we felt personally drained or compromised in delivering the training. We did not feel that responsibility rested disproportionately on any one individual. Subtle communication and co-operation in training sessions, between us as facilitators, had continued to improve, allowing us to work actively and spontaneously as a team. This was affirmed by the feedback, where no individual facilitators were named. We were referred to and thanked as a group.

Sometimes we were addressed as "you guys". In that phrase, we saw respect and camaraderie communicated. We had been previously aware of struggles to categorise us, as we did not dress conventionally and seemed not to fit stereotypical notions of what women should be and do.

- *It was brilliant, I wish I could be like you guys. Maybe one day soon.*
- *I always thought that what you're doing is great. You are real role models. Sometimes a little funny dress but I respect you guys.*

There were many comments that expressed appreciation of preparation and professionalism in the training. Thorough practical preparation enabled mental control (Knox, 1996), served to contain us and allowed us to offer a professional product.

- *The sessions were so well prepared, it just gave so much insight and sometimes ideas that didn't even cross my mind.*
- *Firstly, the preparation and design of the programme was practical and the workshop well organised. It actually did more than meet my expectations, it more than fulfilled it's role to give us assistance in combating rape in Pollsmoor.*
- *The facilitators came across professionally with deep knowledge and understanding.*
- *Brilliant, you guys know your stuff very well.*

[25] I endorse feminists' belief that educators and psychologists aiming for social transformation, must, in collaboration with others, remain open to uncertainty, continuously self-reflect, and take responsibility for their actions (Brabeck *et al*, 2000). Expressed from a PAR frame: "The prerequisite is that one is willing to view oneself and one's actions as data sets in the same way that one looks upon others" (Schon, 1983, cited in Karlsen, 1991, p. 156).

As facilitators, we attempted to address the group on different levels – as a group, as possible survivors and perpetrators, and as potential facilitators.

- They were very expressive but concerned for the groups' needs, and responses on such a delicate seminar!
- They do care.
- I could feel that it came from your hearts! That is most important.

Our eagerness to review, reflect, and adapt, was explicit. We strove always to maintain a consistent, open and honest approach that incorporated a measure of self-disclosure, including acknowledgements of our limitations and failings. We hoped that modelling attitudes of flexibility, tolerance, questioning and non-judgement, would encourage the same in participants. Expressed by Mawson: "The group often depend on the consultant to stand up for the value of struggling for understanding, rather than rushing into the solving of concrete problems to get rid of the uncomfortable feelings" (1994, p. 69).

We attempted always to open debate non-aggressively, and invite discussion, believing that a punitive style of facilitation would not be helpful, especially given the stressed and isolated lives men live in prison (Knox, 1996). However, we did respond in a challenging way when we deemed it necessary. We also learned new methods of facilitation. I was humbled, for example, to witness the efficacy of using paradox by first evoking intellectual responses, then proceeding with direct challenges to perpetrators. "Trickery has always been a part of the healing process. By no means need it be sinister" (Kopp, 1971).

6.4.7 COMMENTS ON TRAINING METHODS

All participants commented positively on the experience of writing in diaries and doing 'homework' exercises, which provided a bridge to the next session, and facilitated the integration of material. As facilitators, we tended to measure the success of a workshop by participants' immediate reactions and responses, and needed to be reminded, at times, that learning and processing ideas and information also occurred between sessions, in private reflection:

- It made it easier to reflect on the sessions. Cleared my mind and made me go through the work to see that I really understand.
- Things tend to stay in your head when you are constantly doing tasks around them - heightens awareness.
- It keeps you in focus and occupied and always thinking of what you have learnt for the day.
- To give me more memories about what I learn here.

6.4.8 REALISTIC GOALS

Ethical considerations were a dominant concern throughout the programme. Within the training, we had tried our utmost to ensure that everyone examined his or her potential abuses of power

and knowledge. By the end of the training, we were gratified that most people in the group seemed humbled by the recognition that counselling required particular skills; equally, that they themselves might not necessarily be effective counsellors to rape survivors.

As facilitators, we were relieved that the participants had understood and agreed with our decision not to train them as counsellors. This was demonstrated when most participants chose to participate in the group discussing policy or prevention strategies, rather than in the group discussing healing and safety measures, for example. The warders within 'Friends' appeared most sobered by this recognition.

- At first I believe that I should be the one to change the whole world, but now I have learn to share responsibilities and only do what I can.
- There are so many out their with so many diverse problem, that have to be dealt with. I have to ask myself the question: am I strong enough to deal with it, can I take it all in?
- Feel that I have the skills, just need to focus on my own weaknesses. i.e. talk too much - need to listen more!

Within the training, we had attempted to curtail the group's grandiose expectations and idealistic goals, and had warned against 'rescuer' ideologies. In the final session, which dealt with vicarious traumatisation and burnout, we focused extensively on the potential perils of 'wanting to save the world', and acting as 'heroes', understanding these stances to be reactions to feelings of helplessness (Herman, 1997). We encouraged awareness of personal limitations and cautioned against over-commitment. There were many nods of assent, which we noted with appreciation.

Many participants wrote about their feelings of being overwhelmed by the amount of work to be done in Pollsmoor. Realistically, 'Friends' had taken on a tremendous challenge, which would be daunting even to experienced professionals. The awareness of their limitations as a group and as individuals, we interpreted as a successful outcome of the training.

- Unless we commit ourselves to action, no tangible progress can be achieved by the group.
- *(I feel)* helpless because I need more education to equip myself.

However, the above comment might also encompass a valid critique of the training: We had spent a relatively short time examining policies, procedures and protocols, which we had initially identified as crucial for the containment of the group and essential for the sustainability of the initiative.

6.4.9 GRANDIOSE EXPECTATIONS

These responses about feeling overwhelmed and daunted by the tasks ahead, were interspersed with comments by 'Friends' who declared that they "can and will do it on their own", which gave rise to concern on our part.

- I will dedicate my life into helping the abused inside and outside of prison. The planning and expansion of one of the biggest organisations in South Africa and the Western Cape.
- I feel like a soldier/ knight in armour. I know now that I can make a difference.
- They will reach their goals and will be a force to reckon with in the near future.

It appeared, retrospectively, that we might have been too swift to congratulate ourselves on successfully challenging "fantasies of omnipotence" (Leiper, 1994, p. 205). After the training, 'Friends' seemed to want complete ownership and control of the project; to limit external 'interference'; to start research into rape in prisons, and put this initiative 'on the map'. The group appeared to have persisted in their ambition to establish themselves outside prison too, as a counselling NGO for male rape survivors, despite the fact that no one had been trained as a counsellor. These ambitions were distressing, in the light of our awareness that this small organisation had not yet been properly constituted, and had few mechanisms in place to deal adequately with the few rape survivors in one 'Safe Cell'.

It was frustrating and disillusioning to observe these developments that seemed contrary to the ethics, guidelines and recommendations that we had emphasised in the training. We wondered despondently whether the prime motivations for this group were recognition, acknowledgement for groundbreaking initiatives, and employment after leaving prison, rather than a genuine concern to assist rape survivors. We wondered if we had been premature in congratulating ourselves on a job well done.

However, we felt that it would be pertinent to turn this mirror towards ourselves. In the training, we had deliberately designed and incorporated 'icebreakers' and team building exercises to prepare the group for termination of the training and separation from us. The messages that were conveyed included that they could work as an independent team and should rely on one another. We had emphasised that, as a group, they possessed the skills, resources and capacities to solve problems, create solutions and tackle their goals. Thus, we may have unwittingly reinforced their defence mechanisms of denial and dominant optimistic illusions, as illustrated by the comment quoted above. We were concerned that these feelings might prevail after the training, and that our cautions would be forgotten or overlooked – possibly because denial and optimism were stronger and more familiar to the group than careful scrutiny of abuses of power and privilege.

As facilitators, we had also been congratulated from various quarters for groundbreaking work, just as the 'Friends' had been. We reflected that we were also invested in the success of the work of 'Friends', were protective of our efforts, and did not want our work to be co-opted and misused by others.

6.4.10 FUTURE NEEDS

Many participants expressed a need for more information; this could in itself be considered an indication of a successful training process. Participants also identified skills that they felt they would like to develop further, and wanted incorporated in future training. These included training in facilitation and listening skills, which corresponded with what we as facilitators had thought would be useful for the group. There had been insufficient time in the training to cover these areas comprehensively, but if we were to continue the process, those would be the areas that we would emphasise in training.

Groups identified by participants as requiring training, corresponded to those initially identified in the 'supervision sessions'. They included other warders within Pollsmoor, medical staff, investigators, prison authorities, and other inmates, especially gangsters. In sum:

- Special those who don't recognise male rape.

However, at least one of these recommendations emanated from the facilitators rather than the participants. For example, the idea of the medical training was initiated by Rape Crisis. 'Friends' had not previously highlighted medical staff's treatment of rape survivors as problematic. Significantly, this proposed training has still not occurred, and may serve to illustrate shortcomings of PAR methodology. If people do not identify, articulate and prioritise their own issues, commitment to the issue may be temporary, not internalised. In addition, it is not helpful to obscure the fact that facilitators, even within this modality, retain significant authority and power, including that of 'suggestion' (Worell and Oakley, 2000; Quina and Miller, 2000).

These recommendations highlight the concerns that Rape Crisis had when the organisation first considered embarking on this project. We had been concerned that a once-off training would not be sufficient; that on-going training would be required, and that more than one sector of the prison would need training in order for the project to be successful and sustainable. Rape Crisis' staff and financial resources were too limited to take on such a vast project. As with many other training programmes that this NGO undertakes, there was a realistic concern that 'Friends' would come to rely on Rape Crisis to sustain their initiative, for example, through ongoing supervision and continued consultation.

In addition, a major reservation was that if policies, procedures, and protocols were not in place, monitored and enforced throughout the prison system, the good intentions of a few people might well amount to very little. We felt that systems needed to be in place to support and back up this initiative.

In exploratory meetings and during preparation for the training, we ascertained that the prison authorities supported the initiative; and that the 'Friends' group were aware of our fears, and would independently work towards structural change and the development of policies within Pollsmoor. From the outset of the project, we had made our limitations clear, and were firm about what we could realistically offer and commit ourselves to.

Within the training, we had emphasised these aspects and facilitated a process which had attempted to examine and help set structures and plans of action in motion. We had put the 'Friends' in contact with other organisations that could offer support and assistance; developed a detailed referral list; and in every way had attempted to terminate the project secure in the knowledge that we had assisted them towards becoming a sustainable entity.

However, the need for further training, organisational support and supervision remain. Rape Crisis, given our training experience and the organisation's feminist ethics and principles, is, we believe, in the best position to be of assistance in specific areas. However, the problems of time, money and capacity remain. As an organisation, Rape Crisis needs to decide the extent of its further involvement with 'Friends' and define its future relationship with Pollsmoor.

6.4.11 CONSIDERATIONS OF FUTURE REPRODUCTION OF THE TRAINING.

We felt that the success of the training lay in our prioritising the personal examination of gender roles, power issues and the dynamics of race and class.

However, it was in this very observation that an enormous challenge lay: Namely, how this training could be reproduced in future. The group had identified numerous needs for future training – of new 'Friends', of warders, of prison authorities, of medical personnel, different sectors of prisons, and even different prisons in the Western Cape. The training process, intense and time-consuming, could not be easily replicated for each identified group.

6.4.12 CONCLUDING REMARKS/ OVERVIEW OF THE TRAINING PROCESS

Within the first sessions, we recognised that participatory methods of training were new to many people. Initially, participants expected a formal teaching mode, which would entail their listening to us in a formal, disciplined way. We swiftly challenged that with the introduction of evocative, informal, creative and playful elements, using colour, sounds and smell (incense), which most of the participants received favourably.

Our use of visual aids and graphic presentation formats seemed to have assisted learning and remembering. The power of visual testimonies cannot be over-emphasised: they involve two

senses and have immediate emotional impact. Knox pertinently reflects that videos can be " a powerful tool in developing empathy and in challenging distorted thinking" (1996, p. 21) in relation to gender-awareness.

'Icebreakers' and games were an effective means for affirming individuals, and allowing the group to relax and bond together. As impromptu responses to discomfort that we perceived within the group, these exercises frequently served to release tensions and contain anxiety.

Evocative techniques were particularly useful tools in accessing participants' feelings, notably those of oppression and powerlessness. Asking questions relating to childhood, for example, seemed to evoke less defended and censored feelings than was the case when we asked the 'adult' to speak. These techniques encouraged self-examination and assisted participants' development of empathy. As Gide articulates: "Each of us really understands in others only those feelings he *(sic)* is capable of producing himself *(sic)* " (cited in Mitchell and Black, 1995, p. 229).

Role-plays served a similar purpose, and were a useful method to test, practice, stretch and challenge skills. Many participants responded well to them, requesting more. As facilitators, role-plays gave us an opportunity to see how people might perform in actual interactions with rape survivors. We noted that much information had not been internalised by the participants, confirming our concerns about possible abuses of power and inappropriate actions. Including role-plays as part of our methodology amply demonstrated that our decision *not* to train participants as 'counsellors', was correct. Through role-plays, key players within the group realised independently that they were not well suited to the challenges of a counselling role.

Our feminist training style, which permitted some self-disclosure, and allowed us to interact as equals, without a traditional 'therapeutic distance', was helpful in some instances. It encouraged the development of insight, empathy and compassion on our part, and allowed us to address the specific needs and concerns of certain individuals. However, we all formed particular allegiances and affiliations with certain individuals, and, at times, may have colluded, involuntarily, with the group antagonism or indifference towards certain individuals. Though we strove to be aware of our personal feelings, keep them in check and be fair, we may not always have been successful.

However, some weeks after the training was over, I was again made conscious of how deeply entrenched the prison power hierarchies were, when the 'Friends' group seemed split once more between warders and inmates. This was predictable given that the warders' designated responsibility is to control the inmates. This is not a relationship between equals. The conflict between the warders' institutional role and their additional role as concerned and caring 'Friends'

is obvious. Perhaps, too, these splits and divisions, present even amongst the inmates, indicate that the 'honeymoon' phase of the organisation was beginning to pass. As in any process of organisational development, the initial 'pioneer spirit' that unites people, starts to fade as the organisation moves to another phase of development and is confronted with different demands. A variety of factors may contribute towards a quicker shift in this process, which seldom works in linear progression. One of these factors might be that the group had lost us as external witnesses. Perhaps our presence had engendered an element of performance, which had now fallen away.

Once again, these dynamics reinforced our conviction that supervision of the group was vital, as it would provide a space to look at group dynamics and confront tensions and differences between individuals.

We had felt that our goals, aims and expectations were within reasonable limits. We had consistently cautioned ourselves to remember that this constituted the very beginning of a particular process of learning and integration. The workshops had been limited to a short time, and the process of attitude change could involve a life's work. However, as reflected by Knox (1996), Cardona (1994) and Obholzer *et al* (1994), it is improbable that behaviours and attitudes that have taken years to consolidate and refine, will give way within such a short period.

We had been aware that the information conveyed in the training could be misunderstood and misused (Quina and Miller, 2000). We were cognisant that inmates and warders had personal histories that could include abusing or misusing power and information. As men, many of the participants live with 'unexamined privilege' (McIntosh, 1985), and our training offered, for some, their first short exploration of those dynamics. Ultimately, personal histories, personalities and the hierarchical system of Correctional Services with its entrenched dynamics of power, might well prevail, and continue to exert more influence than "the brief hiatus" (Seamus, personal communication) we had offered the participants in this thirteen session training and personal growth programme. "No-one can *make* another person grow. One can only inhibit growth or enable it" (Casement, 1997, p. 219).

Despite these cautions and safeguards, one of the main difficulties we encountered, was relinquishing our investment in the project's success.

6.4.13 MEASURES OF ACCOUNTABILITY

"Feminist ethics demands accountability of every individual for her or his own actions, guided by principles of beneficence and respect. ... Ethical feminists must demand accountability from others and from themselves"
(Quina and Miller, 2000, p. 155).

We succeeded in maintaining personal and professional integrity in the training process, assisted by thorough record keeping, incorporated with internal reviews and external monitoring.

6.4.13.1 EVALUATIONS

Consistent evaluations were central in enabling us to maintain high standards of ethical work. Our use of a variety of qualitative evaluation procedures seemed effective. Open-ended evaluations elicited uncensored anonymous responses from participants, thus serving as a useful gauge of the groups' concerns. Evaluation sheets, in which participants were asked to focus on their *personal* strengths and weaknesses, were a strategic evaluative tool, providing participants with a valuable opportunity for personalised feedback. (Refer to Appendix C10.4.)

However, our selected designs remained heavily reliant on personal interpretation and subjective extrapolations. We questioned if there were additional strategies that we could have adopted that would have contributed towards quality enhancement - "where the aim is to raise standards of practice overall, to educate about good practice, and to anticipate and prevent problems arising in the future" (Leiper, 1994, p. 200). Our search for increasingly effective techniques and strategies is a continuing challenge familiar to many NGOs. Mikkelsen similarly stresses that evaluation methods require further development and testing (1996, p. 195).

6.4.13.2 DEBRIEFINGS

Debriefings after each session were extremely helpful. We prioritised a considerable amount of time for this purpose. Thorough and uncensored expression of our feelings and thoughts helped us considerably, to think through some of the implications of the session. These periods of debriefing enhanced our connections to one another; served to normalise intense emotions, and facilitated evaluations and further planning. Their immediacy was partially responsible for ensuring continuity of sessions, flow of content and links in a coherent sequence.

6.4.13.3 VALUE OF SUPERVISION

Supervision exceeded our expectations, predominately due to the extraordinary skills, empathy and commitment of our particular supervisors, facilitated by the therapeutic frame. Each of us reflected that supervision had been indispensable in containing us in many moments of crisis. We

were able to vent intense emotions in a place where we were sure we would not be judged, and confidentiality was guaranteed (Scaife, 2001).

It was in supervision that we focused on our boundaries, strategising practical means of preserving them, including the creation of a week's break in the middle of the training, and handing responsibility over to others (individuals and organisations).

Supervision provided a space in which to think systematically, often psychodynamically, about the training. We made conscious links between our perceptions of individual participants' responses and group dynamics, the content of sessions and our own emotional reactions.

Occasionally, we used supervision sessions specifically to structure or assess training sessions. More frequently, ideas that could be utilised in planning or assessment would emerge out of a sudden sense of clarity evoked through other discussions.

As we had anticipated, we found it beneficial to have sensitive men as our supervisors. In that they shared our concern or outrage at many of the sexist, homophobic or misogynist attitudes we encountered in our work, we were reminded that not all men thought in such ways. In addition, they offered significant professional insights and personal perspectives that informed our understanding of male dynamics, which contributed substantially to our training. From their perspective as external witnesses to our process, we received affirmation of our work that we were not always able to give to or accept from each other, or indeed ourselves.

6.4.14 CONCLUSION

One of the best indicators of a successful training course is surely the extent to which the facilitators' skills are developed, ideas stimulated, information expanded and personal growth and development enhanced and extended (Kagan and Lewis, 1990; Omosupe, 1991; Whyte et al, 1991). One of my colleagues reflected pertinently: "My experience as a woman of colour working within this environment has challenged my own prejudices and allowed me to embrace and come to terms with who I am" (co-facilitator, 2001, personal communication). I, too, continue to feel personally enriched by the experience.

CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION

– REFLECTIONS ON WORKING WITH MEN IN PRISON, AS WOMEN

> **Instead of trying to bring a brilliant, intelligent, knowledgeable light to bear on obscure problems, I suggest we bring a diminution of the "light" – a penetrating beam of darkness; a reciprocal of the searchlight... The darkness would be so absolute that it would achieve a luminous, absolute vacuum. So that, if any object existed, however faint, it would show up very clearly. Thus, a very faint light would become visible in maximum conditions of darkness**
>
> (Bion, 1974, p. 37).

7.1 THE EMOTIONAL IMPACT ON FACILITATORS

> "It seems to me the only way I have *(to)* ... really understood anything, is through that process of opening up to my own terror and pain, re-examining them, re-creating them in the story, and making them mean something different, making them meaningful – even if the meaning is only in the act of the telling"
> (Allison, 1994, p. 75).

7.1.1 DESCRIPTION AND DISCUSSION

At the end of the training, our dominant feelings were those of optimism and achievement that we had surmounted numerous tests of our strengths and challenges to our capacities.

However, we were also glad that our work within Pollsmoor was not indefinite. Just as Santos wrote of a different experience: "On more than one occasion, ...we wondered if we really had assimilated the methodology.... Throughout the process, there were moments of enthusiasm, absenteeism, perplexity, loss of interest, exhaustion, coldness, renewal..." (1991, p. 82).

Each of us had realised that this work had started to affect us personally in different but profound ways. Despite excellent supervision and regular debriefings as a team, the reality and metaphor of 'prison' had started to invade our personal and professional lives.

I have categorised our impressions of the emotional impact of our work into three areas. They do, however, overlap considerably.

7.1.1.1 INDICATORS OF DEVELOPING 'BURNOUT' OR 'COMPASSION FATIGUE'

- Other people's dynamics and needs became more difficult to tolerate. We started to feel impatient with the perceived pressures of friends', lovers' and colleagues' demands on our energy and time.
- There were occasions when each of us experienced overwhelming fear, lack of safety, trepidation or alertness to potential dangers.

- Frequently, at least one of our group experienced disturbing fear within the corridors of Pollsmoor. At times, we were acutely conscious of being surrounded by perpetrators of violent crimes.
- We sometimes felt that others could not understand our intermittent expressions of cynicism and anger. We began to rely on one another and our supervisors more than we could have anticipated. With others, we tried to explain a reality that was too unfamiliar to evoke easy understanding and empathy.

7.1.1.2 EMOTIONAL IMPACT OF WORKING IN THIS ENVIRONMENT

- Personal relationships with men seemed more challenging, as we were increasingly alert to the ways in which even men we cared about, demonstrated entrenched sexist attitudes and beliefs.
- Occasionally, we would feel overwhelmed and out of control in situations which we would normally have handled with patience and ease. For example, a flirtatious approach from a man that would have been unwelcome and irritating, was experienced now as totally invasive, triggering a chaotic, defensive and fragmented emotional response.
- We often felt daunted by the tasks that confronted us, which included finding appropriate means of working with men in order to achieve our goals; learning about the consequences of rape for men; and exploring the new terrain of prison.
- We often felt despondent, believing that no learning was being internalised by the participants. We wondered if we were wasting our time or being too naïve in hoping to achieve our goals.
- We were aware of the sexism entrenched in the institution, and were distressed by leers of hatred or intent, and numerous flirtatious overtures and interactions. We felt symbolically 'raped' by the opinions and attitudes that many of the male participants expressed about women.
- At times, we were concerned that we were colluding with warders or inmates, or with perpetrator dynamics, or with the manipulative strategies of men.
- We more or less constantly thought about feminism and prison.

7.1.1.3 METAPHORS OF PRISON INVADED OUR LIVES AND WORK

- At times, our homes, which we had previously experienced as havens of safety, felt like enclosed and restrictive spaces.
- We were increasingly aware of the voyeurism that surrounds prison dynamics. We were irritated by a perceived desire for sensationalism that greeted us if we spoke of our current work. Television serials, soap operas and pornography about prison life seemed to fuel a number of different fantasies. We, like the inmates, felt watched, sensationalised and sexualised.
- We were drained by feelings of helplessness working within an under-resourced and neglected outpost of 'Correctional Services', that seemed to offer little in the way of rehabilitation and care to either its inmates or service providers.
- Within Pollsmoor, we gained respect and trust, as 'outsiders', but this very respect induced inmates, warders and prison authorities to make further requests of us. We felt the strain of fielding multiple demands on our time and energy. Our boundaries were constantly challenged.

- We started to feel the lack of trust, so pervasive in prison, encroach upon our own lives. We wondered whether we were being lied to, being told only partial truths, or being manipulated?
- Mirroring the isolation felt by the prisoners, we, too, felt alone. Where were the other organisations and individuals working in this field?

Our feelings corresponded to the prison environment (Sinason, 1992; Moylan, 1994, Gibson, 2000). As Whyte *et al* reflect: "*(W)*e think and act within organisational structures and cultures..." (1991, p. 42). Knox specifically refers to a degree of inevitability in sharing the experiences of imprisonment of the men with whom one works (1996, p. 12).

The stress we experienced in relation to our facilitation corresponded to similar strains experienced by 'Friends' in their attempts to deliver a service to rape survivors. We were working within an environment in flux, with its inherent power dynamics, agendas and corresponding pressure (Knox 1996, p. 11; Roux, 2002), which were, at times, in conflict with our goals. Obstacles included prevailing policies within the DCS; the entrenched attitudes of gangsters, warders and others in positions of power; and a general reluctance to co-operate with proposed changes. 'Friends' and facilitators alike, we experienced ourselves as being undermined or disregarded. Pertinently, Obholzer attributes work-related stress and eventual burnout to "a sense of responsibility without having adequate authority and power to achieve outcomes..." (1994, p. 42).

Exploring the concept of 'projective identification' (Klein, 1946; Segal, 1973; Sinason, 1992; Moylan, 1994; Halton, 1994, Herman, 1997), in particular, an acknowledgement of it as a psychological-interpersonal interaction (Bion, 1984), facilitated a deeper understanding of the significance of our emotional responses. Reflections on our own anger, helplessness, demoralisation, self-doubt and lack of control, enhanced our sensitivity to the experiences of 'Friends'. Our feelings of being restrained, confined or trapped, for example, mirrored some of the painful emotions experienced by individual inmates and warders. Moylan describes this state of mind "... passed rapidly from one person to another until everyone is afflicted and no one any longer retains the capacity to face the pain of reality" (1994, p. 58). We each struggled with disruptions in our personal relationships, at times distrustful and cynical regarding the motives of others. We lost confidence and frequently underestimated our knowledge and skills (Herman, 1997).

At times during the training we were acutely aware of our inability to feel and think clearly. We felt 'stupid' in our incapacity to emotionally comprehend and intellectually process what was occurring. Pertinently Sinason explains that 'stupid' means "numbed with grief and the process of 'going stupid' handicaps all of us at different times" (1992, p. 2). Our apparent 'stupidity' might have

been a defence against primary and secondary experiences of trauma. "*...(P)*rofessionals can sometimes shut their eyes and go stupid not just because it is painful, but because it is unbearable to see damage and not be able to repair it, not to be able to put it right" (Sinason, 1992, p. 36).

Alternating with these vulnerabilities, we experienced intense optimism and idealistic hope, corresponding to the manic defences we witnessed in many of the inmates and warders. Herman writes about "a stance of grandiose specialness or omnipotence" being a defence against feelings of helplessness (1997, p. 143).

'Denial' was another defence mechanism that we appeared to have rapidly absorbed or assimilated (Moylan, 1994). I was intrigued to note, for example, that my expressions of painful feelings were far less frequent than declarations that I was *not* emotionally affected by this work; that I felt clarity rather than chaos; excited and challenged, rather than overwhelmed and anxious. At times these were truths, but retrospectively I recognised a desire to deny or minimise aspects of my experience. As Roux expresses: "It is easy to become captivated by the prison world and it is difficult to relate these realities to loved ones. It is easy to be overcome by the brutality or to have to shut down to the experience of others" (2002, p. 12).

Regarding our work, a variety of intersecting variables contributed towards the stresses we experienced. Pertinently, Ogden (1994) cautions against using the concept of projective identification in a simplistic, linear fashion. He emphasises the necessity of focusing on the dialectical interplay of subjectivities involved in this process.

Numerous factors served to amplify our expected emotional responses. These included: significant professional challenges, multiple demands on our time, the impact of participants' attitudes, directives to terminate before we felt that the project was sustainable, strain in our personal lives, elements of perfectionism and ambition (Roberts, 1994).

For example, in addition to the obstacles we shared with 'Friends', as female 'outsiders' our presence might have posed a threat or challenge within this male-dominated institution. The predominant geniality and hospitality with which we were welcomed, occasionally gave way to attitudes of disdain or indifference, and demonstrations of power. Our sense of confusion, paradox, powerlessness, and resulting stress, increased proportionally.

7.1.2 SEXISM AND GENDER DISCRIMINATION

When we entered the passages of 'Male Admissions', we were aware that we were entering a male domain. Each of us was to some extent vulnerable to potential harassment or sexualised

fantasy.[26] Knox pertinently reflects: "Prisoners and staff alike share stereotypical views of gender roles. A woman entering a hall is immediately the object of surveillance. She may be watched silently by those in the vicinity, or subjected to some form of harassment by way of a whistle or some suggestive remark..." (1996, p. 13).

We were also intrigued to observe that, within 'Male Admissions'[27] different women were subject to differential forms of treatment (Burman, 1990, p. 4). For example: Generally, we were escorted through the prison in a protective manner. Our witnessing two diminutive nuns passing by without a male escort, however, caused us to wonder what we were being protected from, and why we were afforded this particular privilege of chivalry.

Within our work, this cognisance of the male ethos impacted in different ways. In retrospect, we realised that we had occasionally planned and executed elements of the training in defensive anticipation of stereotyped 'male' responses. These expectations of sexist or sex-typed responses were, however, not always realised. This caused us, in moments of generosity, to wonder if we had underestimated the capacities of men for empathy and compassion. We reprimanded ourselves for our *own* sexist expectations and gender discrimination. For example, in Session Eight (discussed in Chapter 6), we had anticipated a negative reaction to our focus on women in the video clips we had chosen. However, we were surprised and pleased that the testimony of a young black girl who had been raped, was received with compassion, and the political importance of such public testimonies validated.

On other occasions we felt unprepared for the level and intensity of sexist responses from participants. We were forced to face manifestations of misogyny that we had not predicted.

Poignant examples of this occurred during Session Five. (See Appendix C4, outline of the workshop: 'Why do men rape? Victim/ perpetrator dynamics'.) When the group was asked the question: "Why Do Men Rape?" many of the male participants responded that men raped simply 'because they could'.

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[26] " With every comment on our bodies, with every leer, men are letting us know, quite clearly, that they have access to our bodies and that we have no control over that access. They are saying in effect, 'if I choose, I can rape you – so make sure you don't antagonize me' " (Neustatter, 1989, p.48).

As women, we cannot live with this awareness paramount in our minds, or we would be paralysed. We maneuver ourselves in and out and around this recognition. At times of vulnerability or enhanced sensitivity, however, consciousness of this dynamic can be heightened and a glance can be experienced as a violation.

[27] A friend commented with sardonic humour on reading this observation: "Male admissions of *what exactly?*" Our insatiable capacity to laugh - at ourselves and general ironies and incongruities – helped sustain a sometimes sliding sense of sanity....

A hypothetical scenario was also put to the group, in which the picture painted was of a man moving towards a woman at dusk. He notes that she is alone and suspects that she has just collected her pay packet. He approaches her with the intent of robbing her. She is terrified, and begs and pleads repeatedly: "Take what you want – just please don't hurt me!" The facilitator emphasised that the man had absolutely no intention of assaulting her when he made his opportunistic advance, and asked the group if they would *now* rape her. Many of the men in the group agreed that they definitely would. As facilitators we were shocked: Did this mean that rape was not considered 'hurt'? Was the invitation to exert power over someone expressing weakness and fear that strong?

Between these two extremes, however, lay a familiar and more anticipated realm of responses. In an exercise which focused on domestic violence (see Appendix C2 - for workshop three, outline containing elaboration of exercise), it was observed that participants' initial attitudes of condemnation of the male perpetrator, moved swiftly to a stance of making excuses for his abuse. In so doing, responsibility was shifted onto the female victim. This 'blame the women repertoire' has been observed by Gouch (1998, p. 33), Knox (1996, p. 10), and others, and is clearly a recurring theme within patriarchy.

In this workshop on 'Gender Socialisation', we asked the question: "What are boys and girls really like?" The list of characteristics elicited corresponded to expected gender-typing. Boys were perceived as adventurous, aggressive, independent and victims of female nagging and demands. Girls were seen as affectionate, dependant, emotional, fickle and meek, inherently inferior (Gouch, 1998). (See Appendix C1.2 for verbatim responses.)

When women as a gender or a class were blatantly devalued or openly ridiculed, we felt vicariously insulted and demeaned by the glib or even animated manner in which these views were aired. "...Male-dominated culture permits this type of behaviour and allows it to go unheeded, on too many occasions" (Kagan and Lewis, 1990, p. 27). My outrage could be linked to the feminist premise: 'The Personal is Political'[28], which correlates with the Marxist philosophy

[28] The term 'The Personal is Political' was coined by Carol Hanisch in 1970. Friedman describes this recognition as "the most important innovation of radical feminism" (1987, p. 8). Individual domination is viewed not as a personal problem, but as a broader social and political issue. For me, this term validates and describes what I have always simply felt; and this reflection offered an explanation as to the intensity of my emotional responses.

that: 'An Injury to One, is an Injury to All'.[29]

In our role as facilitators, we were required to suppress our distaste and discomfort and strategically continue with the session's agenda. Personal emotions had to be controlled and channelled appropriately in line with our goals. This was frequently a considerable challenge. At times, I responded with a direct challenge or a contained question that elicited re-examination of an attitude. On other occasions, I felt that I responded ineffectually, as the intensity of my emotional reactions would render me mute, consumed by sadness, and unprepared for confrontation.

Only after sessions, within team debriefings or supervision, was our underlying anger vented. Although sometimes difficult, we felt it important for us to express our outrage, to "acknowledge and own the uncaring elements in ourselves..." (Roberts, 1994, p. 83). As described in Winnicott's paper on 'Hate in the Countertransference' (1984), we understood this confrontation of our own sadistic feelings, to be crucial, both for our wellbeing, and in order for us to continue to provide an effective service. hooks similarly speaks of a necessity for women to "address the depths of our anger and fear of them *(men)*, in order for work with male colleagues to proceed" (1991, p. 97).

I have reflected on some challenges that sexism and misogyny posed to us as facilitators. We were also faced with homophobic responses from participants, which were evoked particularly in sessions examining notions of masculinity and consequences of rape for men.

7.1.3 HOMOPHOBIA AND THE IMPACT OF SEXUAL PREFERENCES

"Where-as gender is an important unit of analysis for feminists, other loci of oppression must be examined"
(Brabeck and Ting, 2000).

I wondered if I should raise issues of sexuality within this text. I concluded that, in discussing the dynamics that women might face in working with men, it was necessary to incorporate a reflection on the possible impact that different sexual preferences might have on this work.

Kaschak (1992, p. 50) writes: "To consider gender and class relevant only when someone is not white or not middle class means that one is viewing all women as white and middle class, unless otherwise noted. This is no different as viewing all people as men." Similarly, to view sexual

[29] This philosophy has manifested in many forms within South African political history, notably the slogan's adoption by trade unions and the Mass Democratic Movement. Somewhat ironically, this basis of feminist 'sisterhood', is also incorporated within gangsters' guiding principle of 'brotherhood', expressed in the term: "One for All and All for One" (Hofmeyr and Nair, 1999).

preference as relevant only when someone is *not* heterosexual, means that one is viewing all people as heterosexual. I felt that it was crucial to include this issue in order to avoid perpetuating the negation of diverse sexualities.

As women, we frequently assume that a 'sameness' exists amongst us; that our goals and aims are shared. However, heterosexual and homosexual women may have differing agendas, perceptions and experiences. Being "seduced by sameness" (Hurd and McIntyre, 1996), can prevent us from critically examining the ways in which we perpetuate, or are complicit in, discriminative practices (McIntyre, 2000).

In planning and preparation we had not discussed strategies for confronting homophobic expressions, despite the inevitability of their emergence. In contrast, we had spoken in depth about anticipated sexism and racism, and had developed techniques and mechanisms to assist us in tackling *those* dynamics effectively.

We did not prioritise considerations of different sexualities within the training agenda. These concerns were dealt with as thoroughly as possible, but tangentially. Fortunately, all three of us were emotionally and theoretically capable of addressing participants' queries and tackling homophobia, having explored the issue of sexuality in depth, within our personal lives and in our professional capacities. Nevertheless, a focus on male sexuality that challenged personal attitudes towards homosexuality, might have been a valuable component of the session on 'Masculinity'. (Appendix C2.) Upon reflection, this was a significant oversight. I wondered if our training aims, prioritising the rights of women, had contributed to an involuntary collusion with the historically- imposed invisibility of homosexual men and women.

In anticipation that disclosure of my lesbian sexuality might evoke homophobic responses and interpretations that could serve to distract participants from the focus of the training, I did not disclose my sexual preference.[30] I concluded that racist comments are not eliminated in the presence of people of differing races, and sexist and misogynist attitudes are not hidden in the presence of women. Opinions regarding sexual preference would have emerged regardless of such disclosure.[31]

[30] Within deliberations, I contemplated whom I was protecting. Did I not want to be challenged or attacked on any more levels than those I was already defending? If I had modeled such disclosure within the group, would the gay group members have felt safer to act similarly?

[31] I considered that homosexual men and women are viewed differently within South African society, each group recipient to a different set of prejudices, projections and stereotypical attitudes. Declarations of my sexuality to the group might not have served any useful function in terms of challenging homophobia within a male prison.

Notwithstanding, observations from my co-facilitators served to confirm my initial concerns regarding being cast as "the aberrant female" (Omosupe, 1991): "Even though your sexual preferences weren't elucidated, I had a very strong sense from the group that they assumed you were lesbian. When the topic of sexuality was raised, apologetic or curious glances swung in your direction" (facilitator, personal communication).

In a parallel process regarding the examination of the impact of sexual preferences, a facilitator questioned: "I was wondering during the training how much I was colluding with a predominant framework of *heterosexuality* by asserting myself 'claimed' as a woman. 'Look I have a boyfriend, yes he's given me a ring, yes he can do black belt judo ...He'll protect me even thought he's not here' " (facilitator, personal communication).

Arising from discussion, we became aware of additional differences in our perceptions, that might also have reflected the impact of our sexual preferences. An example occurred in preparation for the workshop on 'Masculinity'. (See Appendices C2- Outline of Session 4, and C3 -Copy of quotes on masculinity used within the session.) In selecting quotes to place on the walls, we drew extensively from a book written from within the 'male liberation' movement (and its implicit discourse): *Manhood: A book about setting men free* (Biddulph, 1994). We collectively adopted a tone which empathised with men's struggles within patriarchy. I was, however, more eager than my colleagues, to include more provocative quotes, such as those from alternative feminist texts, notably Arcana, 1984.

I considered that, as heterosexual women, my colleagues might have been unconsciously invested in being more sensitive to the dilemmas facing heterosexual men, than I was. In not asserting my preferences for more challenging material, I risked exclusion and invisibility.

Our different sexualities also resulted, indirectly, in contrasting experiences of the environment, which partially account for the range of our perceptions and resulting emotions. For example:

Within Pollsmoor I dressed as I usually do, in predominately black jeans and t-shirts. The other facilitators borrowed trousers, wore long sleeves and deliberately planned to minimise sexualised attention from the men in the prison. Upon reflection, I have systematically precluded the 'male gaze' (Corroto, 2001) from my frame of reference. The relative neutrality of my outward appearance serves to protect me and limit interference in my daily life. Thus, I was possibly already somewhat protected while the other facilitators felt a need to strategise means of protection as we entered the prison's passages.

One facilitator commented on how she had noticed that her style of dressing even *outside* of Pollsmoor had began to change: "...from my usual more provocative manner, to covering up cleavage and wearing baggier less attention - attracting clothes. I was increasingly aware of being vulnerable to the male gaze, and it began to generalise to all aspects of my life" (facilitator, personal communication).

I was interested to note that I was less affected by participants' homophobic attitudes than my two heterosexual colleagues. Perhaps this was due to my identification as a lesbian. I have confronted homophobia on a daily basis, learned to anticipate it and thus protect myself from its potentially harmful impact. The other facilitators appeared to react to homophobic articulations as violations of human rights, and vigorously endeavoured to challenge these attitudes. Retrospectively I considered with respect and gratitude that my colleagues, in so doing, might have been defending or protecting me as their team-mate and ally. At the time I simply found it a relief to be able to take an unusually passive stance.

7.1.4 OTHER FORMS OF OPPRESSION

Divisions entrenched in the broader society are likely to be mirrored and amplified in South African prisons. As Knox observes: "Prison portrays in a concentrated form a wide range of discriminatory attitudes. It may be that these attitudes are exacerbated by the discriminatory nature of imprisonment itself, or it may be that prison presents a microcosm of the outside social order " (1996, p. 13).

Within this discussion, I have prioritised the impact of sexism, as it was the most overt and consistent attitude with which we had to contend. However, we witnessed and experienced the distressing impact of many different forms of prejudice and discrimination in Pollsmoor. These included racism, the impact of class and poverty, and oppression or marginalisation of mentally and physically handicapped people. Each deserves more than a cursory mention, which space unfortunately precludes.

Notwithstanding, my choices of focus within this dissertation are significant. As a white woman, for example, I did not feel the impact of racism as strongly as my black co-facilitator did. In Barbara Smith's words: "Racism affects all of our lives, but it is only white women who can afford to remain oblivious to these effects. The rest of us have had it breathing or bleeding down our necks" (cited in Omosupe, 1991, p. 107).

My co-facilitator pertinently reflected on her particular experiences:

> ... *(A)*s a black woman working in a predominantly male and black prison, I find myself what Collins describes as the 'outsider from within' (1990). On the one hand I grappled with the 'male gaze' upon entering into 'private' male space ... On the other hand I was increasingly conscious of my race in relation to my *(white)* colleagues (personal documentation).

7.2 THE PRIORITISATION OF A FEMINIST AGENDA

"The feminist principle perhaps most dear to many feminists' hearts and most demanding of their time and courage is activism..."
(Qunia and Miller, 2000, p. 158).

7.2.1 SOLIDARITY WITH WOMEN

When we felt despondent after workshops that we had experienced as particularly challenging, we occasionally found comfort in focusing on the few women in the group, and offering affirmation, support, information or literature that we believed would be of personal or professional benefit to them. Undoubtedly, providing solidarity and assistance to women working within this male-dominated sphere, served a useful function. However, the personal connections we made with the women in the group could also be viewed as defensive and protective allegiances. For the men in the group, the ramifications might have been less positive. In reviewing the training, we considered whether, as feminists working with men, elements of gender –prejudice or unexamined gender discrimination might impact on our work, despite conscious intentions. "I understand fully, and know intimately the impulse, usually rooted in essentialist rage, that can lead feminists to see all women solely as victims or potential victims..." (hooks, 2000, p. 95). As Omosupe urges: "We have to acknowledge that there are ways that we can be oppressive to other groups whose identities we don't share" (1991, p. 106).

On reflection around closure of the training, for example, I realised that within this group, termination had been inadequately addressed. I usually conscientiously prepare participants for endings, cognisant that it frequently re-evokes painful feelings of separation and can magnify unresolved losses of the past. My neglect to do this, despite my awareness of how acutely inmates experience the pains of involuntary separations, could be viewed as an unconscious collusion with patterns of avoidance of feelings within a male prison. It could also usefully be understood as a manifestation of projective identification of trauma (Klein, 1946, Bion, 1984; Sinason, 1992; Herman, 1997), which overwhelmed me and impacted on my capacity for reflective thinking and adequate containment (Brothers, 1995; Evans, 1999). A consideration of possible gender-discrimination, adds a further dimension of understanding, however. Pertinently, within workshop thirteen, we had observed that we had, in informal interactions with the two women in the group explicitly addressed *their* needs and concerns regarding termination, whilst neglecting to do so for the larger group.

I was aware that even in the 'Safe Cell', I tended to place the concerns of women first. (As discussed in Chapter 5.) I wondered if this prioritisation was appropriate or problematic. In my interaction with male rape survivors, I contemplated how much I could challenge entrenched sexist beliefs and attitudes without compromising a therapeutic frame and relationship?

Similarly, within the training, we attempted to find a balance between challenging offensive behaviour and simultaneously offering support and containing anxieties engendered within Pollsmoor, and by the training itself. We opened debate and invited discussion, believing that a punitive style of facilitation would not be helpful, especially given the stressed and isolated lives men live in prison (Knox, 1996). Nevertheless, we responded assertively when we deemed it necessary.

This tension that we felt in our roles, between expressions of care and elements of control and power, possibly also elicited confusion in participants. This could be especially marked within an institution characterised by authority, control and containment, with few sources of nurturing or avenues of expression. With relief, I discovered that other feminists working in male prisons had experienced similar conflict of goals and confusion in implementation. Knox describes a "constant tension about who the real focus of attention is: the client, his past victim or the potential future victim" (1996, p. 16).

7.2.2 REFLECTIONS ON VICTIM/ PERPETRATOR OVERLAP

"Whoever fights monsters should see to it that in the process he *(sic)* does not become a monster. And when you look long enough into an abyss, the abyss also looks into you"

(Nietzsche, 1988, extract from *Beyond good and evil*).

As we were acutely aware in our work in Pollsmoor, male rape survivors could have a history of perpetrating sexual offences themselves. Within prison, many rape survivors are, or were, members of gangs and have participated in rape or other violent crimes. Additionally, many rapists have previously experienced severe abuse themselves.

7.2.2.1 SHOULD PERPETRATORS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN PARTICIPATE IN SUCH TRAINING?

Concern had been expressed that sex offenders were part of the group. We too, had considered that in providing information about rape to perpetrators of sexual violence, we might be increasing their skills as rapists, their knowledge of how to hurt and how to escape being hurt. The training might allow them to continue patterns of denial and thereby serve to "make them cleverer as perpetrators" (Marcel, personal communication). Rapists' rationalisation of their behaviour (Vogelman, 1991, p. 191) might be refined, rather than relinquished.

In attempts to limit the chances of information being misused by perpetrators in the group, we prioritised considerations of ethics in every workshop. Our facilitation style was explicitly direct and challenging. We suggested, for example, that 'Friends' develop entrance criteria to the organisation and carefully consider whether sex offenders should be excluded as potential members. Scenarios that we used as springboards for group discussions, incorporated examples of perpetrator dynamics. (See Appendix C4.) In personal feedback to each participant at the conclusion of the training, we once more urged participants to examine their motives and take responsibility for their actions. Trainers cannot, however, control how participants select or absorb information, nor how they will proceed to use it. As stressed by Foucault (1979): "It is not ideas per se that are oppressive, but the ways in which the ideas are used and the outcomes these engender" (Gouch, 1998, p. 27). We remained concerned that these cautionary measures were not adequate.

Ideally, we would have liked to exclude perpetrators of sexual offences from participation in the training. However, within Pollsmoor this decision would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to implement. The following questions that we asked, reflect some of the dynamics that operate in Male Admissions and are likely to be pertinent issues in any prison context:

- Some men were awaiting trail for sexual violations – should they be excluded from training even though they had not been convicted?
- Some men, notably 'ex-gangsters', claimed that their lives were transformed. If they demonstrated eagerness to compensate for their past actions through assisting rape survivors, should they still be excluded?
- Some men had useful contributions to offer 'Friends', as a direct result of their histories of perpetrating violence. For example, ex- 28's, familiar with gang codes and strategies, had offered valuable information and insights that were being utilised in prevention programmes in the Reception area of the prison. Did this consideration warrant their inclusion?
- Some men might have been able to acknowledge themselves as perpetrators, express regret for their actions, and voice their commitment to never perpetrating sexual abuse again. Should such men have been included?
- Some men who had not been reported for sex offences, might nevertheless have committed such an offence at some time in their past.[32] How could this be assessed, especially if a man had not considered his behaviour to be a sexual violation?

[32] A prevailing social myth is that rape is an expression of normal male sexuality. Burns expands that the "masculine perspective is one which sees only an absence of response from the woman and fails to recognise the nature of the act as one of sexual attack" (1998, p.15). Gavey eloquently states: "Rape, radical feminists have suggested, is just an extreme expression of male –aggressive and female-passive positions, which are normative within heterosexual practice" (1996, p. 52).

As facilitators of this process, we were exploring a question underlying those above, namely, whether the benefits *that could be* gained through the inclusion of perpetrators outweighed considerations of potential dangers.

In this training, the group of male participants collectively represented all of the categories listed above. We witnessed the majority of participants displaying a willingness to take personal responsibility and explore possibilities for change. Clearly, the training had offered participants an unusual opportunity to examine their attitudes and challenge certain beliefs. However, in some instances, as we had feared, we *did* observe a consolidation of defence mechanisms and determination not to reflect on their behaviours.

As the relevant literature suggests, not all perpetrators possess the capacity for self-reflection, rendering therapeutic assistance difficult, and change improbable. Lichtenberg, Lachmann and Fosshage express a pertinent point: "As long as a person's dominant motivation is to preserve the fantasy and the person resists every effort to create doubt about its validity or its compatibility with other goals, little attention can be given to the sources of distress" (1992, p. 142). In her description of work with perpetrators, Knox refers to defence mechanisms of "minimisation" and "cognitive distortions about the offending behaviour" (1996, p. 16). Rationalisation and other psychological defences can be vehemently preserved, despite various different attempts to provoke awareness of, and responsibility for, the cruelty of a rapist's actions. Psychological issues that lead a man to rape could remain obstinately unexamined and therefore unresolved. Questions remain pertinent and need to be worked through thoroughly by others considering embarking on similar training within prisons. It could be helpful to examine these questions within an exploration of the potential facilitators' own belief systems. For example, if a facilitator believes 'once a rapist, always a rapist' and nevertheless embarks on work with perpetrators, personal and professional compromise will be high. If a woman believes that 'all men are potential rapists', should she even contemplate training men to deal with survivors of rape? We found it difficult to grapple with these issues after committing ourselves to this training. I believe that prior consideration of these issues could clarify the possible personal and ethical consequences for facilitators and so inform their decisions.

7.2.2.2 FEMINISTS' RELUCTANCE TO WORK WITH PERPETRATORS

"Empathy is possibly one of the most complex issues in the context of working with men"
(Knox, 1996, p. 18).

This intersection of victim – perpetrator dynamics poses a challenge to women offering therapeutic or training services to men, as their ability to work empathetically, might "feel like befriending one's most despised and feared enemy" (Hertzog and O'Connel, 1996).

This concern, shared among the facilitators, remained largely unarticulated. It might, therefore, pertinently reflect the unspoken fears of others embarking on similar work. The following extract, from personal notes, testifies to my own growing capacity for empathy,[33] and a corresponding theoretical framework of thinking.

'CHANGE BEGINS WITH ME'

During one of many informal conversations with participants, an inmate and member of 'Friends', told me a little of his life story. Paraphrased, he commented to me that he thought he could understand the motivations of a rapist, the theme of that day's workshop. He explained that he had felt similarly, regarding impulses to stab or kill people. Quite frequently, and not necessarily linked to provocations arising from specific situations, he would experience discomfort and a sudden compulsion to stab or kill. He would feel that he could not regain his balance without following through on this impulse.

From childhood he had been picked on, stabbed and beaten by local children. He clearly remembered the feelings evoked, and linked them to his compulsive desire to harm. On a certain date he vowed that no one would ever harm him in that way again; he was prepared to kill in order to protect himself. He became a member of a notorious gang. Once imprisoned in Pollsmoor, his gang affiliation eventually shifted to one of the 'number gangs', and his pattern of assault presumably continued.

His life began to take a different path when he attended a course facilitated by the Centre for Conflict Resolution (Documented by Bestall and Joubert, 2001). For him, the notion that 'Change Begins with Me' constituted a personal revelation. He began to take responsibility for his violent behaviour, as opposed to holding the victims responsible for provoking his actions. The realisation that he could change his attitudes, led to concerted attempts to control his actions. He

explained that he gradually reduced the number of stabbings and killings, hoping to totally eliminate this violence. He voiced his hope that through commitment, discipline and a sense of his own responsibility, he would soon be totally released from these impulses.

In further interactions between us, he directly and indirectly sought my respect and trust. I was not always receptive to his overtures, and on more than one occasion misunderstood his underlying request. Eventually, he explicitly explained his desire for my trust: receiving affirmation and respect from other people had not been important to him before his revelation. Now, however, he needed people to respect him, and demonstrate genuine trust in him.

I was interested to observe that, contrary to my anticipated responses to this life-story of violence, I experienced empathy. I could hold my compassion for the boy who had been abused, and the adult for whom I was growing fond. I respected his capacity to feel empathy for himself, and began to understand a little more – a moment of epiphany akin to his own.

Despite my conscious intentions, I had avoided exploring literature on perpetrators of violence. Thus, I had not developed a theoretical framework within which to think about such actions and motivations. I had neatly defined myself as a feminist, prioritised work with women, and sheltered within this familiar domain. Increasingly, I observed that similar patterns or attitudes seemed to apply to other therapists as well. It seemed that many clinicians were reluctant to work with perpetrators. It is obviously easier to empathise with the survivors or 'victims' of violence than the offenders. Feminist intolerance of the deleterious effects of patriarchy could further distance us from empathy with violent men.[34]

Within these specific interactions, I was overwhelmed and humbled in my recognition that this man had persistently demonstrated and successfully explained an entire body of theory to me. Not only had he honestly described his violent behaviour and alluded to its potential source; he

[33] Using Ivey's definition, empathy "refers to a temporary identification with an aspect of the other's subjective experience which, when reflectively understood as such, makes sense of our emotional responsiveness to the other" (1999, p. 9). It involves the suspension of moral judgements and ideological beliefs; being able to comprehend situations or circumstances from another's perspective. This is, according to Knox, "...both a skill and a personal attribute" (1996, p. 18).

[34] Psychiatric discourse is infused with judgements thinly veiled as valid scientific assessments; it can be convenient to dismiss rapists as being 'antisocial' (DSM IV, 1994, pp. 645- 650), incapable of change. However, as much as 'we' accuse 'them' of denial and avoidance, similar defence mechanisms and unexamined patterns of social conditioning, operate within 'us' and our profession. We can operate behind the barriers of smugness and judgement, with such ease. Snowdon pertinently reflects, with reference to a counselling group for incarcerated offenders: "I was prepared for these men to be monsters; I could handle that. But I was not prepared for them to be who they were. ... *(T)* hey did touch me, both with their honesty and their denial, with their remorse and their easy self-justifications, in short, with their ordinariness" (n.d., p. 1).

demonstrated empathy for himself, and he had explained his willingness to change and self-reflect. This had begun with an awareness that he was responsible for his behaviour, and could control it. He told me that he had identified a need underlying some of his professed 'addiction', and a way towards healing.

These reflections were validated and enhanced through a coincidental reading of Lichteberg, Lachmann and Fosshage's reflections on pathological addictive behaviours (1992, pp. 122-148). In their words:

> Experiences of a traumatic or abusive nature have a strong organising effect and these tend to be repeated. Where physical pain has been a recurrent experience it may create a more cohesive experience than comfort would. Where humiliation or guilt have been recurrent, these negatively toned affects convey more intensity of an intimate relationship than respect or uncomplicated assumption of responsibility. Similarly, the confusion and 'bad self feeling' of repeated failures in assertion may become familiar cohesive states. Anger, especially tantrum-like, destructive rages, may be sought for temporary vitalisation; extended states of hatred and of the pursuit of vengeance may be resorted to for their long-term contributions to self-cohesion. Sexual excitement states, often divorced from intimacy, may be sought, with or without accompanying states of degradation, for the temporary exuberance of the experience (Lichtenberg, Lachmann and Fosshage, 1992, p. 141).

7.2.2.3 THE RISK OF 'COLLUSION'

Another potential problem for women working with perpetrators, has been loosely referred to by those who have worked in the field as 'collusion' - unwittingly condoning or minimising offenders' behaviours. This could involve feeling empathy, while failing to give sufficient weight to the violent histories and aggressive capacities of male clients; thus becoming blind to them as perpetrators and focusing only on their personal wounds - "courting illusion" in the words of Hertzog and O'Connel (1996). Succinctly summarised by Knox: "...*(W)*omen may feel that they have compromised their beliefs by colluding with the male ethos and thus failing women" (1996, p. 14).

However, it might be useful to remain cognisant that women are as much products of a patriarchal society as are men. Males are not the sole carriers of sexist attitudes and misogynist beliefs (hooks, 2000). Many therapists are moved by and occasionally outraged at the ways in which women reproduce their socialisation and collude in their own oppression. Many experience difficulties in controlling countertransference responses to the stories told by female rape survivors, and struggle to maintain their boundaries. Work with women might also entail working with female perpetrators of violence.[35] The issue of collusion then, must be managed with the

[35] "Accepting a version of female experience that sees us solely as victims, as the dupes of men, enables us to ignore both the violence we do to other women and children and to less powerful men ...By denying female agency it implicitly disallows our capacity to rebel, to resist, to act in a revolutionary way" (hooks, 1991, p. 95).

mechanisms pertinent to all therapies with all clients: that is, with appropriate self-reflection, and awareness.

Nevertheless, it seems to me that the possibilities of 'involuntary collusion' are enhanced without these safeguards, and they are not always available or optimal. In South Africa currently, women who embark on work within this field, are likely to do so without the back-up of well-developed bureaucracies, policies and procedures, nor the support of cohesive teams guided and informed by tried and tested protocols. Working predominately in individual capacities within this system, the personal cost could be high. The potential for pain and damage could be increased.

7.3 A FEMINIST LENS – INFORMING GOALS AND IMPLEMENTATION

"Feminist ethics provides lenses for deciding what to do and on a course of action in the face of competing ethical principles"
(Brabeck and Ting, 2000, p.18).

There are few, if any, therapeutic interventions available to the male inmates of Pollsmoor. Yet, training such as that offered by the Centre for Conflict Resolution's 'Prison Transformation Project' (http://ccrweb.ccr.uct.ac.za), and the endeavour of which I was a part, stimulated self-reflection and encouraged the personal growth of participants. Through the provision of a safe and nurturing space that engenders trust, experiential training in prisons has demonstrated that many male perpetrators of violence can be receptive to taking responsibility for and control of, their changing offending behaviour. Such programmes, executed with integrity, can facilitate the deconstruction of individuals' oppressive beliefs and may assist in changing violent behaviours. This can ultimately contribute towards breaking the cycle of violence in society. There is an urgent and undisputed need for ethical interventions within prisons. I believe that feminists have a positive contribution to make within such institutions, and that there are advantages to women working with perpetrators.

Operating within a field where little has been documented on similar work, it was validating to read similar reflections. Knox develops a compelling argument in favour of women working within male–dominated prisons. She posits that feminist ideas have added dynamic dimensions to this arena, the field of sexual violence particularly, and that these innovations should be practised. In her words: " I do believe that change is possible. I believe that men need to learn how the world looks through a feminist lens. I cannot see through a masculinist lens without a conductor. I believe, therefore, that consciousness–raising for men demands an input from women " (1996, p. 10).

She thus explains that she feels that women have a particular contribution to make in challenging men's perceptions of themselves, examining dynamics of power and control, and the sexist attitudes they hold. "It is this ability for women to express to men the impact of their behaviour on women that is one of the key features of being a woman doing this work" (1996, p.22).

Guided by a feminist lens, I too believe that a feminist trainer's or therapist's imperative is not only to provide support and empathic training, but also to challenge sexist beliefs and attitudes. I agree that "*(p)*romoting feminist ideas as a direct tool of ... intervention with men does need to be clearly on the agenda " (1996, p. 26).

A 'feminist lens' undoubtedly informs interventions, and provides a strong ethical foundation to guide work with men. However, such a lens can also narrow vision, with less positive ramifications. Within our training, for example: Despite an awareness of the idealism inherent in our motivation to elicit attitude changes, supervision helped us to acknowledge the extent to which this 'covert' feminist goal was dominant. This caused me to question to what extent a 'feminist' agenda that prioritised attitude change within individuals, diverted attention from *other* goals, and to what effect.

This might partially account for an insufficient prioritisation of attention to organisational dynamics, and might have contributed towards our frustrations at the end of the training programme. A more pragmatic focus was possibly compromised by our zest to achieve prioritised goals. As Vogelman emphasises, beyond changes to the socialisation of men and women, "what is required is a complete transfiguration of every structure and institution infected with sexism" (1990, p. 199).

There were specific concerns regarding the prison environment that impeded achievement of our goals. These included safety, the institutional structure itself, and support for expressions other than rape.

There is a need for a new organisational space within which new ideas can be acted on effectively. Institutional aspects contributing to rape within Pollsmoor, require transformation in order for any preventive measures to be successful. These include alleviating boredom within the prison and lessening the overcrowding within cells, dynamics that participants stressed repeatedly within the training programme. However, these characteristics are endemic to South African prisons, and such changes have long been advocated by human rights organisations, such as AWPP's recommendations of 1994, to little effect. Indeed, as expressed by Roux, the very institution of incarceration could be interpreted as a 'legal process that encourages denial,

defensiveness and opposition..." (2002, p. 21). Thus imprisonment, for many men, is counterproductive to change (Knox, 1996).

For those men who have experienced sexual assault, it can be additionally traumatic. Prison is not a safe environment. Crucially, rape survivors cannot remove themselves from the setting of their victimisation, a basic consideration of safety that is emphasised as a prerequisite for healing to occur (Donaldson, 1997; Herman, 1997). Within prison, inmates' existence can be characterised by constant threats of harm, and recurring or intermittent incidents of trauma and assault. Many men are therefore physically and/ or emotionally trapped (Evans, 1999), unable to escape from their predicaments. Even with the provision of a 'Safe Cell',[36] safety, protection and optimal emotional support can not be assured. In addition, the prevailing secrecy within prison, can serve to smother articulations of trauma and pain, and discourage survivors from reporting the crimes committed against them. Recovery and healing are thus fundamentally handicapped.

With regard to perpetrators: "Any intervention ... needs to offer something in place of what a life in crime does offer" (Maw, 1997). In Scarce's words, any preventative initiative within prison would need "cultural support for the desired alteration, peer influence that validates the behaviour, *(and)* internal motivation" (1997, p. 252). I have come to believe that it is necessary to suspend judgement and idealism and attend to practical realities. There is no use in debating ethics. As long as patriarchy exists, power hierarchies will exist. There will always be a battle for dominance and control in an all-male environment. It is ineffectual to suggest or demand that men do not rape without offering viable alternatives. It has been noted that, in prisons, there is little space for aggressive impulses to be channelled (Knox, 1996; Kupers, 2001). Creative alternative outlets for such expression need to be created. There is a need to find viable alternate sources of assertion within the existing hierarchies. Alternate means of acquiring power and expressing dominance and asserting masculinity, could, for example, include the institutionalisation of competitive sports and the establishment of activities that alleviate boredom, occupy time and fill thoughts.

Upon termination of the project, these challenges continue to confront 'Friends'.

[36] There is only *one* 'Safe Cell', in a section of 'Male Admissions' that houses sentenced inmates. 'Friends' are still endeavoring to mobilise sufficient practical support to form additional cells for inmates awaiting trial, who make up the majority of the prison population. Many survivors of sexual violation are therefore prevented access to the limited safety that these cells could provide.

7.4 CONCLUSION

Discussion is evocative. Questions remain pertinent. Despite these reflections, comments, and recommendations, I am struck once more by an observation that in this particular initiative, it was *predominately women* who were responsible for the work that was achieved. Although many men contributed to and assisted in the endeavour, women formed the cornerstones of its successful implementation.

- 'Friends Against Abuse' was developed as a result of a *woman's* concern about the rape of men in Pollsmoor. In 1996, Lizelle Albertze was one of the first women ever to be employed within the Admissions Centre of Pollsmoor. She was far from the first person to recognise the reality of rape in the prison, yet it took *her* determination and perseverance to generate practical assistance for rape survivors.

- Women representing a feminist organisation conducted the training.

- The most helpful information and assistance that facilitators managed to procure from organisations and individuals working in similar fields, was from feminist *female* social workers.

We can, and do, debate the merits and ethics of whether or not women should be involved in similar work with men. Ultimately I believe that the decision remains a personal choice informed by each woman's assessment of her current priorities. Nevertheless, women continue to do the work!

CHAPTER 8 RECOMMENDATIONS

"Perhaps together we can conquer the rape culture before it conquers us"
(Scarce, 1997, p. 225).

Recommendations are interspersed throughout this document. With respect, I offer the following suggestions as a reminder of salient points within my discussions. They are derived from my subjective evaluations of the strengths and weakness of this particular training, within a specific prison setting and historical context; and are informed by recommendations offered within other literature.

8.1 RESEARCH AND DOCUMENTATION

Additional interdisciplinary and multifaceted research is needed, regarding all aspects of the rape of men. There also needs to be considerations of feminist training and therapeutic interventions within prisons. Research should:

- be presented accessibly so that it can reach a wide audience, informing male rape survivors and service providers, thus concurrently contributing to 'breaking the silence' around the rape of men
- be contextualised within socio-political explanations for rape behaviour
- attend to untangling the strands of masculinity, misogyny and masculinity
- explore personal and socio-political factors that impede effective intervention efforts
- resonate emotionally, through an emphasis on rape survivors' testimonies, for example
- avoid sensationalism, homophobia, and judgmental preaching
- be methodologically sound, preferably based on qualitative and participatory research methodologies
- be relevant in practise, thus informing public education and advocacy

8.2 EDUCATION AND ADVOCACY

Advocacy and lobbying with regard to the rape of adult men, particularly men in prisons, is urgently needed, especially in terms of legal reform and the creation and improvement of services for rape survivors. Transformation of public perceptions regarding the rape of men, in prisons, is also urgently required.

8.2.1 SERVICES

Counselling, policing, legal, and medical services for male rape survivors need improvement. Methods for achieving this, in small achievable steps, include:

- training service providers to be willing and able to offer sensitive, gender-specific care that deals with the immediate and long-lasting effects of rape
- publicising services in ways that encourage male survivors to use them
- creating organisations that are equipped to focus on the particular needs of male rape survivors
- encouraging feminist NGOs that deal with sexual abuse to consider changing their focus from dedication to female rape survivors, to debate all the questions raised in 1.4
- encouraging existing organisations to reach out to former prisoners who survived rape
- assisting legal reforms

8.2.2 ATTITUDES

In terms of public perceptions, there is a need to create a social discourse that debunks prevailing myths and dispels misinformation regarding the rape of men. Taboos surrounding issues of sex and violence, need to be broken; and attitudes of denial and blame need to be changed. Methods for attaining this could include:

- increased provision of information pamphlets, articles and public statements in the mass media
- efforts to avoid the generic use of 'she' with reference to rape survivors within available literature
- sexuality training that focuses on attitudes towards masturbation, different forms of sexuality and sexual preferences

8.3 PRISON INTERVENTIONS REGARDING MALE RAPE

Protective custody, such as that offered within 'Safe Cells', do not seem to guarantee the safety of rape survivors. It is not an adequate or permanent solution to the problems of sexual violation within prisons. Effective proactive measures of prevention need to be developed. Ideally, for interventions to be successful:

- the wall of silence around rape in prison needs to be broken down
- prison policies need to be changed, and effective implementation of these protocols and procedures assured
- all staff members need to be trained to *prevent* rape and to respond empathetically to survivors
- all new inmates should be given practical advice on avoidance strategies to prevent rape
- information about available services and resources that can assist healing if rape has occurred, should be widely disseminated
- HIV/AIDS awareness programmes in conjunction with sexuality training and new approaches to condom distribution, should be regular

- individual counselling and support and information groups should be available to rape survivors
- trained therapists should be available to all rape survivors while still in custody, accessed as soon after an incident of sexual assault as possible. If possible, these therapists should be drawn from outside the prison system, to facilitate the development of trust, to ensure that confidentiality is maintained, and to act as external witnesses, advocates, and monitors
- therapists should acquire understanding of the particular complexities of the manifestations of prison rape and its consequences

8.4 FEMINIST TRAINING IN PRISONS

Before embarking on initiatives such as the training described in this document, multiple considerations of impact, efficacy, sustainability and organisational capacity must be considered in depth. Training and consultation needs to be:

- adapted to the dynamic structure of any specific organisation
- informed by multifaceted explorations and thorough preparation
- collaborative, ensuring that trainers do not work in isolation
- proactive in the inclusion and use of relevant expertise from within the organisation as well as expertise from outside of the institution
- supplemented by networking that mobilises other resources

Additional considerations that I believe are critical for the success of any such training are elaborated below.

8.4.1 SAFE FORUM

The creation and maintenance of a safe training environment:

- is a precondition for any meaningful group process to unfold and for learning to occur
- is essential for engendering the trust, respect, and tolerance required for self-examination to and learning
- can result in dependency and so a pre-emptive focus on the sustainability of the project is vital to minimise this effect and avoid the negative consequences that this type of dependency can cause

8.4.2 TRAINING APPROACH

The training would benefit from the inclusion of:

- Participative Education methods infused with insights, and tolerance
- an understanding of trauma as a process and not an event and thereby an appreciation that short-term focused interventions do not take into account the ongoing context of trauma
- carefully examined feminist ideology
- clearly defined goals and aims, in consultation within training participants

- a focus on *appropriate interventions* that incorporate considerations of language, class, race, ethnicity, religion, levels of formal education, sexual orientation and other diversities within the training group
- evaluation and review of each stage of the training as a built-in part of the programme, that incorporates the assessments of trainers and participants
- careful recording of the training and experiences with personal honesty and openness that does not mystify the challenges and difficulties encountered – these records can then be used to guide further research and training

8.4.3 TRAINING CONTENT

Training programmes could valuably incorporate:

- training in facilitation that includes basic counselling skills such as 'listening' and 'containment'
- extensive use of role-plays and opportunities to practise and fine-tune these skills. Role-plays should be based on realistic scenarios that are based on participants' experiences, and the context of the training
- 'Experiential Training' methods that creatively encompass a variety of techniques, including evocative exercises that elicit feelings, didactic input, 'Small Group' discussions, icebreakers and closing exercises
- examination of myths regarding the rape of men by men
- consideration of ethics and potential abuses of power

8.4.4 FACILITATION

Facilitators need to be honest, flexible, and tolerant in order to undertake this type of training successfully. It is also crucial that they:

- maintain a sensitive balance between offering support, containing anxieties, and challenging attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours
- encourage open debate and discussion and avoid punitive styles of facilitation
- have the capacity to contain the anxieties of the group and search for understanding rather than rushing into problem-solving
- examine and question their attitudes, beliefs, and prejudices
- challenge and explore internalised racism, sexism, and homophobia
- incorporate a measure of self-disclosure to participants within their facilitation style
- acknowledge their failings and limitations
- engage in self-reflection on an on-going basis
- be cognisant of the power inherent in the role of facilitator or consultant
- tolerate ambiguity and paradox, maintain an attitude of 'not knowing' ('negative capability')

8.4.5 PROTECTIVE STRATEGIES

Training of this kind is extremely challenging for facilitators, both on personal and professional levels. This can impact negatively on the participants and on the facilitators themselves and so it is important to ensure certain protections are in place. These include:

- a support system that includes a safe, structured forum where facilitators can express their emotional reactions and review the work at regular intervals
- supervision, debriefings and/ or personal therapy in order to maintain integrity and clarity
- expression and maintenance of secure boundaries
- careful consideration of victim/ perpetrator dynamics and the effect that this might have on capacity for empathy and the potential for 'involuntary collusion'
- pre-defined measures of accountability to organisations involved, and to facilitators' own set of values

GLOSSARY OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	-	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AWPP	-	Africa Watch Prisons Project
BBC	-	British Broadcasting Corporation
BG	-	'Big Group': Group discussions that took place with all the participants of the workshop in attendance, essentially 'plenary' sessions.
CBO	-	Community Based Organisation
CCR	-	Centre for Conflict Resolution – Cape Town based NGO that incorporates a focus on South African prisons – the 'Prison Transformation Project'
CSVR	-	Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation – Johannesburg based NGO
DCS	-	Department of Correctional Services
DSM IV	-	American Psychiatric Association - Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: Forth Edition.
'Friends'	-	Group within Pollsmoor Admissions Centre named "Friends Against Abuse"
GETNET	-	Gender Training Network, Cape Town NGO
HIV	-	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HRW	-	Human Rights Watch, organisation based in New York.
Inmate	-	term used within Pollsmoor in preference to 'prisoners'
Male rape	-	used in reference to the act of an adult male raping an adult male (Scarce, 1997, p. 7)
Maximum	-	term used interchangeably with 'Male Admissions' to describe the Security section of Pollsmoor within which this work took place.
NGO	-	Non-governmental Organisation
PAR	-	Participatory Action Research
PEP	-	Post-exposure prophylactics
PRA	-	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PREP	-	Prisoner Rape Education Project
PTSD	-	Post–Traumatic Stress Disorder

Rape	-	borrowing Scarce's working definition: "any penetration of a person's mouth, anus, or vagina, by a penis or any other object, without that person's consent" (1997, p. 7).
Rape 'survivor'	-	Eloquently summarised by Scarce: "Victimisation implies powerlessness and a lack of control, whereas survivor carries a measure of strength, perseverance and agency" (1997, p. 8).
RRA	-	Rapid Rural Appraisal
RTS	-	Rape Trauma Syndrome
SA	-	South Africa
SABC	-	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SAPOHR	-	South African Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights
SAPS	-	South African Police Services
SG	-	'Small Groups': Workshop participants were divided into 3 smaller groups for discussions around particular topics. Each group was facilitated by one of the trainers. This allowed for increased participation from each individual.
SPR	-	Stop Prisoner Rape – Organisation based in Los Angeles, California
TPA	-	Training and Public Awareness sectors of Rape Crisis. Other sectors include Counselling, Advocacy, Legal Assistance and Administration.
UCT	-	University of Cape Town
UK	-	United Kingdom
US	-	United States (of America)
USA	-	United States of America
VAW	-	Violence against women

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CORRECTIONAL SERVICES WESTERN CAPE
VISION, MISSION AND SERVICES

VISION

A model Management Area with a proud dynamic personnel acting in the interest of the offenders and the community,

MISSION

To ensure a safe and secure environment in order to reduce crime and re-offending.

SERVICES

- Parole supervision
- Correctional supervision
- Education and training of prisoners
- RE-integration into the community
- Services by supplying labour
- Industrial products and services
- Information service
- Physical care
- Safe custody

CORRECTIONAL SERVICES WESTERN CAPE
POLLSMOOR ADMISSION CENTRE
VISION AND MISSION

VISION

To be an excellent Correctional Services, in the interest of the community and those that are entrusted to our care.

MISSION

To render a Correctional Service in order to contribute to community development, protection and stability.

DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES CREDO.

(Adopted in January 2002)

In humble submission to the ultimate God who controls the destiny of people and nations, we as members of the Department of Correctional Services:

1. Pledge our loyalty to our country South Africa.
2. Agree to serve our countrymen in promoting order and security in the community
3. Declare our respect for man for authority, for the truth, for justice and equity.
4. Undertake to treat those entrusted to our care justly and fairly, with due acknowledgement of the human dignity; and doing everything possible to lead them to responsible citizenship
5. Accept our mandate and calling and undertake to pursue it with total dedication and commitment.

We serve with pride.

(Exact copy of original document)

ORIENTATION GROUPS POLLSMOOR ADMISSIONS CENTRE.

PURPOSES TO GIVE ALL ADMISSIONS INFORMATION ABOUT THE PRISON SYSTEM SUCH AS:

1	**PRIVILEGE SYSTEM**	**Visits: C Group: 24 per year / 30 min / max 2pm – 2 visitors per Visit** **Sentenced** **B Group: 36 per year / 45 min / max 4pm – Saturday, Sunday and Monday** **A Group: 45 per year / 60 min / max 5pm – No food, only toiletries** **Not sentenced: 2 per week / 2 visitors / 30 minutes** **Tuesdays till Sundays one meal per visit and toiletries** **Letters : No limitation** **TV : Not allowed during the week. Only on weekends** **Purchases : Food, toiletries, stationery, smoking requisites, phone cards etc.** **Radio : A Group only and Unsentenced Battery operated.** **Phone Call : One phone call in the place of a visit (Sentenced)** **No more than five calls per week (Unsentenced)**
2	**DIFFERENT SERVICES AVAILABLE** **RECEPTION** **SENSORS** **RECREATION** **SOCIAL WORKER** **RELIGIOUS CARE** **Psychologist** **MEDICAL** **PAROLE BOARD**	**Records: All correspondence of prisoner's in connection with sentence fines, bail** **Reception: In and out movements of prisoners** **Sensors: Letters of prisoners** **Recreation: Relaxation of prisoners** **Social worker: Social problems of prisoners. Programs available** **Religious care: Religious services** **Psychologist: If available** **Medical problems and appointments with hospitals / doctors.** **Parole and Correctional Supervision not a right but a privilege. Don't need a lawyer to apply at all enquiries by yourself. Parole Board only make a recommendation to either the Head of Prison, Area Manager And Provincial Commissioner depends on sentence.** **All persons on or before a third of sentenced before the boards for consideration for possible placement on parole.** **<u>The following is playing a major role:</u>** • **Previous convictions** • **Type of crime** • **Seriousness of Crime**

		• **Involvement in programs** • **Behaviour in prison** • **Offences. (penalised with 1 month)** **Parole Violation: Only on recommendation of Head of Supervision.** **Absconders: possibility is almost 0.** **: Will be charged, if guilty must serve 80% of sentence.** **: Fine maximum of R15 000 or 10 years sentence**
	INSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE	**Prisoners must see the Committee as soon as possible after Admission.** **Role:** • **Classification of prisoners (Med or Max) (Groups)** • **Work in prison** • **Explain sentence** • **Make appointments with Parole Board** • **Refer for professional help** • **Weekend leave only after approved release date.**
	SEPERATION	**First offenders and imprisonment in – A-Seksie en E FLOOR** **Gangsters D Seksie** **Older than 40 years - B5**

LIST OF WESTERN CAPE PRISONS

(Obtained from the Department of Correctional Services)

PRISON	TELEPHONE NUMBER
ALLANDALE	021-8623110
BRANDVLEI	023-3494010
BEAUFORT - WEST	023-4142255
BUFFELJAGSRIVIER	028-2121056
CALEDON	021-8648000
DRAKENSTEIN	023-2311011
DWARSRIVIER	023-2311011
GEORGE	044-8744105
GOODWOOD	021-5593500
HELDERSTROOM	028-2148611
HAWEQUA	021-8731201
KNYSNA	044-3821851
LADYSMITH	028-5511040
MALMESBURY A	022-4871350
MALMESBURY B	022-4871492
MOSSEL BAY	044-6930070
OBIQUA	023-2301070
OUDTSHOORN	044-2728951
PAARDEBERG	021-8638115
POLLSMOOR	021-7001111
PRINCE ALBERT	023-5411331
ROBERTSON	023-6262472
RIEBEECK – WEST	022-4481362
STELLENBOSCH	021-8876864
SWELLENDAM	028-5141190
UNIONDALE	041-7521115
VANRHYNSDORP	027-2791014
VOORBERG	022-9312163
WARMBOKVELD	023-3123170
WORCESTER	023-3472741

THE LEGAL DEFINITION OF RAE AND ITS SHORTCOMINGS

Rape is legally defined as the **"Unlawful, intentional sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent"**

UNLAWFUL:
This means that what he did was against the law or illegal. Until 1987 South African law said that a boy under the age of 14 could not be found guilty of rape because he was deemed unable to have sex. Our law now says that someone between the ages of 7 and 14 can be found guilty of rape if it can be shown that he knew that what he was doing was wrong. Until 1993 (Prevention of Family of Family Violence Act 1993) it was seen as lawful for a man to have forced intercourse with his wife, he could not be accused of rape. Now, in terms of this Act a husband may be found guilty of raping his wife.

INTENTIONAL:
This means that the man must have intended to rape a woman and know what he was doing was wrong. Sometimes a man will say that he did not force a woman to have sex with him. This means that he thought that she agreed to have sex and he did not mean to commit the crime of rape. In the past if the accused could show he was drunk or under the influence of drugs, it could be argued in court that he was not conscious of what he was doing and did not intend to harm the woman. The law says that even if he did not know what he was doing he can still be found guilty.

SEXUAL INTERCOURSE:
The law says that for sexual intercourse to have occurred, a man's penis must penetrate the labia majora of a woman's vagina (the penis must have touched the opening to the vagina).This means that the penis does not have to go inside the woman nor does he have to have ejaculated.
This means that the definition of rape does not include incidents where a woman is penetrated with objects such as bottles, sticks etc. Forced oral sex is not considered rape, nor is forced anal sex. Theses acts are still seen as a crime, but fall under the definition of indecent assault which does not necessarily carry as harsh a sentence as that of rape.

WITH A WOMAN:
According to our law it is impossible for a man to be raped.

WITHOUT HER CONSENT:
It must be proved that the woman let the man know that she did not want to have sex with him. The law says that if a man forces or threatens the woman to have sex with him, this is not consent. If she is drunk, drugged, passed out or sleeping, she is not able to give her permission and if a man has sex wither, it is considered rape.
If a woman is mentally handicapped, with an IQ of less than 49 or has a mental age of less than 7 years, it is illegal for a man to have sex with her even she gives her consent.
T is often argued in court that the woman did consent to have sex with the man; this is very difficult to prove or dis-prove, as there are seldom witnesses to rape.

The Legal definition of rape is severely limited in that it is gender, instrument and orifice specific.

SOUTH AFRICAN LAW COMMISSION PROPOSED DEFINITIONS

RAPE

Any person who **intentionally** and **unlawfully** commits an act of **sexual penetration** with another person, or who intentionally and unlawfully causes another person to commit such an act is guilty of an offence.

An act of sexual penetration is unlawful if it takes place under **coercive circumstances**

Sexual penetration:
Is defined as: penetration –

> **By the penis** of one person into the anus, ear, mouth, nose or vagina of another person or into any body orifice of an animal.
>
> **By any object or body part** of one person into the anus or vagina of another person or into any body orifice of another person in a manner which simulates sexual intercourse
>
> **By any part of the body of an animal** into the anus or vagina of a person, or into any body orifice of a person in a manner which simulates sexual intercourse.

Coercive circumstances:
Is defined as: any circumstances where –

> There is any **application of force**, whether explicit or implicit, direct or indirect, **physical or psychological** against any person or animal.
>
> There is **any threat** whether verbal or through conduct, direct or indirect, **to cause any form of harm** to any person or animal
>
> The complainant is **under the age of twelve** years
>
> There is an **abuse of power or authority**, whether explicit, or implicit, direct or indirect, to the extent that one person is inhibited from indicating his or her resistance to an act of sexual penetration, or his or her unwillingness to participate in such an act.
>
> A persons **mental capacity is affected** by: **sleep**; any **drug, intoxicating liquor** or other substance; **mental or physical disability**, whether temporary or permanent to the extent that he or she is **unable to appreciate** the nature of an act of sexual penetration, or is **unable to resist** the commission of such an act, or is unable to indicate his or her unwillingness to participate in such an act.
>
> A person is **unlawfully detained**
>
> A person believes that he or she is committing an act of sexual penetration with another person
>
> A person mistakes an act of sexual penetration which is being committed upon him or her for something other than an act of sexual penetration.

Please note: these definitions are not currently in use by our legal system.

COMPELLED SEXUAL ACTS

Any person who intentionally compels another person –

To engage in a sexual act with that person

To engage in a sexual act with a third person

To engage in a sexual act with himself or herself,

Is guilty of an offence

Any person who intentionally causes another person to engage in a sexual act with an animal is guilty of an offence

ADMINISTERING SUBSTANCE FOR PURPOSES OF COMMITTING SEXUAL ACT

Any person who administers or applies to, or causes to be taken by another person any substance with the intent –

To overpower that other person in order to commit a sexual act with that person

To induce that other person to allow him or her to commit a sexual act with that person

Is guilty of an offence.

Sexual acts:
Are defined as: any indecent act and includes an act which causes –

Direct or indirect contact between the anus, breasts, penis or vagina of one person and any part of the body of another person

Exposure or display of the genital organs of one person to another person

(Copied from a general information pamphlet available to the public)

RAPE CRISIS CAPE TOWN

Founded in 1976

MISSION STATEMENT

WE, THE WOMEN OF RAPE CRISIS CAPE TOWN, HAVE A FEMINIST/ POLITICAL UDERSTANDING OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN.

WE SEEK TO CONFROT AND CHALLENGE RAPE IN COMMUNITIES ON THE LEVEL OF THE INDIVIDUAL AS WELL AS ON THE LEVEL OF SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND BELIEFS; OUR APPROACH IS INTEGRATED AND EMPOWERING.

STATEMENT OF AIMS

- TO REFLECT THE DIVERSITY OF COMMUNITIES WITH WHICH WE WORK;
- TO CHALLLENGE WOMEN'S OPPRESSION AND CHANGE ATTITUDES;
- TO PROVIDE AN ACCESSIBLE SERVICE;
- TO INFLUENCE POLICY AND LEGISLATION;
- TO WORK IN NETWORKS AND PARTNERSHIPS.

FOR ATTENTION: _____

As you are aware, Rape Crisis has been assisting the group: "Friends Against Abuse" in their initiative to deal with rape of men in Pollsmoor.

We have completed a 6-week training programme with selected warders, in-mates and health workers. The training has equipped the group to act as facilitators in the event of rape or sexual assault being reported. The "Friends Against Abuse" are able to contain survivors of rape, and assist them in accessing further services that may be of assistance to them.

As discussed in various personal communications, we would like to extend an offer of training to medical personnel in Pollsmoor. Thank you for your positive responses to our inquiries as to whether such training could be beneficial to you.

As silence still surrounds the rape of men, most staff in Western Cape clinics and hospitals feel over-whelmed and ill-equipped to deal with men who have been raped. There is little offered in medical training that prepares anyone to deal with the physical or psychological or forensic/ legal needs of a male rape survivor. We hope to offer you practical training that will address these issues.

Within Pollsmoor, you may have more experience than most medical personnel, in this arena of sexual assault. We are hoping too that you may be able to offer us some insights from your own experiences, and look forward to an exchange of information and ideas.

The attached document is an outline of the proposed training, with suggested times and dates. Please circulate the information amongst your colleagues.

Thank you for your interest and commitment. We look forward to hearing from you soon. Please contact me at the numbers below as soon as you have identified times and dates that would be most suitable to you, and we can proceed with the training.
It would also be very helpful if you could give us a list of people who will definitely be attending.

Yours sincerely,

Nicola Woodin. (On behalf of Rape Crisis and "Friends Against Abuse".)

CONTENT OF PROPOSED TRAINING

PART 1:
The context of rape of men in prison.
- Consequences of rape – Rape Trauma Syndrome.
- Short, medium and long - term effects of rape.
- Psychological, emotional and behavioural considerations.
- Guidelines – how to approach men who have been raped

PART 2:
Clinical and medical procedures
- "Western Cape Department of Health Provincial Policy on the Management of Survivors of Rape" will be thoroughly explained.
- Possibility of provision of AZT in Pollsmoor explored.

PART 3:
Forensic procedures and protocols
- "Western Province Provincial Policy" used as guideline.

THE CONTAINMENT PROCESS
PROVIDING SUPPORT AND SERVICES TO SURVIVORS OF RAPE
ADAPTED FROM PROFESSIONAL SERVICES MODEL

PHASE 1: INTRODUCTION – ESTABLISHING A RELATIONSHIP

✓ Try to make a 'connection' with the complainant/ survivor

✓ Make use of:
- Body language
- Eye contact
- Tone of voice

so as to focus on the survivor entirely and convey your empathy. Do not allow distractions.

✓ Introduce yourself and explain your role.

✓ Acknowledge his experience, do not avoid it or down play the seriousness of it. Let him know that what has happened to him is wrong.

✓ Introduce and explain to the survivor what the procedures are which will be followed.

✓ Explain the reasons for these procedures.

✓ Ask if he has any questions or concerns regarding these procedures.

This need only take a few minutes, it is more important to spend a few quality minutes with the survivor at this point than to spend a longer time with him which is not effective in building trust.

If trust can be built at this time it will enhance the co-operation of the survivor in the investigation or process. He is also more likely to co-operate if he understands the reasons behind the procedures which will be followed or questions you may ask.

PHASE 2: THE WORK PHASE – PROCEDURAL ASPECTS

✓ Undertake the work which needs to be done. (whether this be advice, referral or filling out a form)

✓ Ensure that the survivor understands what you require from him.

✓ Include the survivor in this process, tell him what you will be doing and why. Give the survivor choices where applicable. For example: explain why certain questions need to be asked for the statement or why an internal medical examination is necessary.

✓ Be sensitive to the emotional impact that the work which is being done has on the survivor. You may approach this as a routine matter, but it is very personal to him.

✓ Be aware of your:
- Body language
- Eye contact
- Tone of voice

✓ If the survivor has more questions fill in the gaps by giving the information he requires.

➢ Then look ahead to the near future.

✓ Look at options available to the survivor in terms of transferrals, safe cells etc. Important to present options and make sure he makes his own choice.

✓ Does he need to miss work or change his work eg. From kitchen to laundry? Can you help him get a certificate to excuse him, can you help practically?

✓ Find out if he would like to speak with someone (a counsellor or social worker) about what happened. Give him the details of how to go about it. Check if you can help practically without taking control of the situation.

✓ If the survivor indicates that he does not need to speak to a counsellor at this time, prepare him for some of the effects that the rape may have on him (see Rape Trauma Syndrome) explain that these are normal responses and that it won't mean that he is going 'crazy' if he experiences them.

✓ If they are to be released, ensure that he has the contact number of an organisation where he can receive counselling should he change her mind in the future. Explain to him that he will not be forced to receive counselling and that he need go no further than make a telephone call. If he contacts Rape Crisis, Cape Town the services are offered free of charge. Life Line is another option. Rape Crisis, Cape Town will also be able to give him information regarding the counselling services available in his area. Family members can also get counselling from Rape Crisis or Life Line.

✓ Explain the procedures and what you may need from the survivor in the future. If they have chosen to lay a charge, explain the procedures to follow, and the difficulties that may arise. Important to leave the decisions up to the survivor.

PHASE 3: CLOSURE – CLOSING OFF

➢ Firstly reflect back on the experience. Check if they have gotten what they needed.

✓ Keep an open door policy with the survivor. Ensure that he knows your name and contact number. Make certain that he understands the constraints on your time and how much contact he can expect from you in the future. Be very concrete about physical and emotional boundaries. Set up a specific time and place where you would be available, not just called on when walking around. Explain that you will keep him informed with any information you can.

✓ Present the option of getting information in writing, remember that the survivor is likely to be in a state of shock and may forget some of the details (such as your name). Ensure that having the written materials is not a danger to the survivor in his cell.

WEEK 1-

Workshop TWO: Introduction to socialisation issues and power dynamics

Date: **Thursday 30 August 2001**
Time: **10am - 1 pm**
Facilitators: Emma, Henrietta, Nicola

AIMS of this session: Introduction to issues of power and abuse of power, with a focus on gender politics.
Get participants in touch with their feelings of oppression.
This is not a workshop on socialisation, but some of those concepts may need to be explained and understood?

	Introduction and Welcome. Including: Outline of session for today; Thanks for the room – awareness and respect for place of worship. Introduction of people who were not there on Tuesday – in a go-around saying names and how we feel today. Any other business
	Ice-Breaker **Word – wheel** *To introduce participants to the concept of stereotypes and socialisation, to allow them to talk more to each other (even briefly), to explore the diversity of opinions and ideas, to feel the discomfort of talking to people who are still strangers in an artificially constructed setting. To focus on the different challenges of performing and listening. **Small group** discussions (number off according to 3 different colours off sweets what was it like ? (to talk to other people who may be strangers to you, to keep quiet and listen, to talk for a whole minute, to talk to a woman or a man ....) – discuss the words and what you felt / thought about some of them, what issues did they raise.....? [Challenge conceptions through raising questions related to their feedback : eg. many female body parts in swear words vs. men's.... politics of denigration; how language reflects class and everyday experience – some words understood by some and never heard of by others – reflects our separated identities and divided society...]
	Pictures of Boy and Girl (Homework Exercise) – same small groups. *(p109 in Shifting Paradigms)* Using big pictures of male and female outlines, get feedback from exercise – write up characteristics of both. Group to discus whether characteristics are those of people rather than boys or girls – born with them or learnt from world around them? Strong differences or are boys and girls quite similar? Possible facilitator input re gender vs. sex

	TEA TEA TEA TEA TEA TEA TEA TEA TEA TEA
	Big Group – music and brief relaxation and visualisation taking people through childhood in their families : **When was the first time you were told you couldn't do something because you were a boy / girl?** Silence to think (and feel) Move to small groups and discuss – (each person gets a turn.) • NAME 3 THINGS YOU WERE SUPPOSED TO DO BECAUSE YOU WERE A BOY / GIRL : • 3 THINGS YOU ARE SUPPOSED (or expected) TO DO AS A WOMAN / MAN: • 3 THINGS YOU ARE NOT SUPPOSED TO (learned that you should not) DO AS A WOMAN / MAN: Answer questions on piece of paper individually. Discuss in groups of 3 Brief feedback re. differences men and women.
	Oppression Drawings *(p118 Shifting Paradigms)* – small groups: Each person to draw picture of one incident of oppression (eg. racism, sexism, homophobia) that they have experienced or witnessed. Drawing can be symbolic, only colours, one image, or complicated. Style is not NB at all. Setting: school, home, community, social place... Share story with small group. Facilitator – emphasise that the thing that makes it oppression is the way we feel, how do we respond, different forms / types of oppression – focus on feelings.
	Big Group Brainstorm: What is POWER?
	Closure: Homework exercise: Write down ways in which you use your power and ways in which other people use their power against you. Reflection sheets as evaluation. Go- around – "say one good thing you are taking away with you today? "

WORDS FOR WORD – WHEEL:

Religion	Gangster,	Bitch,	Mother,	Moffie,		Poes
Wyfie,	Naai,	Black,	Lesbian,	Piel,	Jintu,	Father

RECORD OF WRITTEN RESPONSES ARISING FROM SMALL GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITHIN *SESSION 2* OF TRAINING.

The questions that were answered and discussed were:
"WHAT ARE BOYS REALLY LIKE?"
" WHAT ARE GIRLS REALLY LIKE?"

On the wall facilitators had pasted this comment: ALL DIFFERENT, ALL EQUAL. It was intended as a summary of the content of this session on gender socialisation and introduction to the concept of 'power'. It became ironic as the session progressed and stereotyped opinions were increasingly articulated.

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to do an analysis of the responses, although it would be interesting. They are placed here in order to demonstrate the similarities and stereotypical nature of the responses.

GROUP 1	BOYS are really like:	GIRLS are really like:
	like girls bully rough games ride bicycles action movies short and strong clever smoke dagga drink beers need to be affirmed cluster together more sensitive than they admit dominant struggle to share their emotions sports – soccer and rugby proud to be boys like attention struggle to multi-task dictator like to be in charge practical eg building bold insensitive short-tempered friendly loving and caring people short hair otherwise 'moffies' boys sit on corners and talk together action movies short and strong	very overly sensitive like special treatment dress up all the time, like women like to give get hurt quickly watch 'soaples' listen to music argue about small things cry eat gossip multi-taskers perceptive like compliments like boyfriends and a nice time spendthrift lovable laugh like expensive things spend lots of money gorgeous warmth inquisitive shy need to be affirmed rely on other people like cars pretty soft caring emotionally charged intuitive like mirrors like to talk like older women panicky long hair help mothers play at being mothers cook, baking, wash clothes

GROUP 2	BOYS are really like:	GIRLS are really like:
	Bossy Independent Jokers Emotional Adventurous Hate injections Alcoholics Womanisers Smokers Gluttons Always in trouble Tigers don't cry or show remorse Energetic Intrepid Power conscious Shy and reserved Gangsters Playful Demanding Like to fight Dominant Like to have power over women Physical Vain Providers Protectors Aggressive Sporty Risk takers Sly bastards Very lovable Practical Secretive Friendly Always fantasize about sex Skirt chasers Like mini skirts Love cars Not studious Smart Egocentric Like to dress well	Mad about 'soapies' Homemakers Bath a lot Leaders Fitness fanatics Love gifts Diamonds are a girl's best friend Very moody Love cooking Sensitive Faithful Day-dreamers Party freaks Always stir trouble Clean Gossips Conceited Boastful Beautiful Bitchy Passionate Emotional Respectful Very beauty conscious Cry babies Love money Manipulative Sympathetic Diet conscious Have to have their beauty sleep Assertive Hate pimples Very dangerous Fall in and out of love easily Prostitutes Long suffering Care-givers Like to flirt Like to be scared Like to model Caring Love the indoors Gentle Like to tease guys Love the phone Shopaholics

GROUP 3	BOYS are really like:	GIRLS are really like:
	Assertive Clever Smart Helpful Diplomatic Concerned Brave Wicked Naughty Easily influenced Associated with likeness Inquisitive Rough players Look up to role models Like expensive things Love their parents dearly Arrogant The hunter Cocky Ignorant to affection Passionate Strong Prefer cars and guns as toys Daring Michevious Active Handy Restless Clumsy rude Cool In charge Dirty Egotistic possessive Show-offs Conscious of physique Boastful Schemer Opportunistic Shy to cry in public Take control Demanding and commanding	Sensitive Emotional Needs to be protected (feel secure) Play 'housey-housey', dolls etc Like to be treated special Concerned about their looks and weight Like to be complimented Sentimental Serene and calm Shy Clumsy Passionate Caring Giggling Choosy Day-dream Look for role models Love their mothers Neat Love beautiful things Adore their fathers Act out motherly figures Smart Clever Complex Talkative Dedicated Fashionable Creative Positive Inspirational Forthwith (straight) Effective Obedient Fragile Funny Outspoken Gossip Beautiful like to do what boys do want to be in control demanding argue about small things

Workshop Three: Context – Power and Masculinity

Date: **Tuesday 4th September 2001**
Time: **10am –1pm**
Facilitators: **Emma, Nicola, Henrrietta and Heleen**

AIMS of this session: To explore issues of power, different forms of power, the use/abuse of power.
To examine the meaning of masculinity and what it means to be a man.

	Introduction and Welcome. Outline of the session for today Introduce Heleen and recap from last two sessions.
	Ice-Breaker Each participant is given a piece of paper and is accordingly informed about the status of the colour of the paper. Those with blue pieces of paper are given higher value than those with green pieces of paper. The group is then split into two smaller groups and each groups is briefed about the rules of the game. • The blue group is to treat the other group like shit in an attempt to hold onto their colour (*shouldn't be too difficult)* • The green group should do everything in their power to obtain a blue. *(no verbal or physical abuse or threats)* ***Facilitators to intervene when necessary – also ignoring or disregarding the 'greens'. Facilitator to watch from a distance and observe that no-one gets too upset. She will call a halt to the exercise, at her discretion.***
	Facilitator to ask all the blue group to go and collect a treat. All need to produce blue ticket in order to receive one. *Green group to be excluded.* *Note: Observe the interactions closely to ensure that participants are not too distressed.*
	SMALL GROUPS (Number off into 4 groups according to the numbers already written on their name-tags.) Each participant is given the opportunity to share their experiences Feelings are important – avoid feelings such as bad, kak, great, powerful etc. make use of feelings chart. Report to the big group and draw on similarities and differences in experiences and feelings *Closure: Brief facilitator summary of issues evoked. Participants in green group given chomps (equalising!)* Symbolic ritual is used to step out of role – all asked to step out of their shoes and leave that green / blue identity behind, and then replace their shoes.

	POWER STATUES **Small Groups:** • Participants work in pair (non verbal) • Person 1 in power over another and has to demonstrate through actions and body language. Person 2 responds to the situation, expressing feelings through movement and finally freezing into a position which best embodies these feelings. • Swap roles

	• Ask for volunteers to show their power statues and describe how they felt. o How did it feel to be in a position of power over another person? o How did it feel to be in a position of powerlessness? o Which position did you prefer? *(ensure that participant are aware that it is not wrong to have the powerful position as preference)* o How did you react to both positions? o Which of the positions are you most familiar with? o What feelings did you have toward the other person? **BG Brief facilitator input** on the different power relations: Unexamined in exercise 1 Overt in exercise 2 *Brief SG Discussions:* Name different situations of power *(keep it as close as possible to personal experiences – drawing out examples from homework exercise if people are willing to share them. Emphasise the dual or ambiguous nature of power dynamics – one can simultaneously use and abuse power; have and lose it. From whose perspective is one looking?)*
	POWERLESSNESS EXERCISE *[See domestic violence exercise – originated from FAMSA]* Participants to sit with eyes closed and listen to facilitator read out sentences detailing domestic violence. 2 stories – one from the child's perspective, the other from the woman's. 3 **small groups** (number off) – **DISCUSSION** All groups to brainstorm and write down their feelings in reponse to what they heard. List on paper. *(Careful to contain when necessary – many may have actually experienced such violence in their childhood homes.)* **Group 1** – Discuss from the perspective of the child – *("What would your feelings towards mother and father be?" – own responses? – helplessness etc)* **Group 2** – Discuss from perspective of man – *(highlight issues of masculinity and power, challenge any complacency...)* **Group 3** – Discuss from perspective of woman – *(challenge stereotypes..)* **Big group feedback**, with **facilitator summary** drawing out issues of power. If necessary – brief input on reasons why women may stay in abusive relationships. **(SG facilitators to be careful to keep focus on power dynamics and not allow too much side-tracking re. issues of domestic violence.)**
	CLOSURE Participants to fill out and hand in **reflection sheets.** **Go around** – " Name one thing that you gained today" **Homework exercise:** " To you as a person, what does it mean to be a man? " " To you as a person, what does it mean to lose your manhood?"

POLLSMOOR TRAINING COURSE - 2001

WEEK 2-

Workshop Four: MASCULINITY AND POWER
Introduction to power dynamics within Pollsmoor

Date: **Thursday 6 September 2001**
Time: **10am - 1 pm**
Facilitators: Emma, Henrietta, Nicola

Personal Testimonies
Room is set up with quotes and pictures on the walls. Soft music playing. As participants enter, they are asked to walk around the room and read/ look at what's on the walls. They are to choose ONE that evokes an emotional response or has personal meaning to him or her. . (Perhaps they will need to write it down as others may choose the same one.)

Small group discussion: (Number off according to the letters on a piece of paper they have been given on entering : **M A N**)
Share personal responses with the group.
Facilitators can draw links, encourage the group to participate in brief discussions – hopefully drawing out connections / similarities and differences between participants' experiences. No didactic input.

SG Discussion re. Tuesday's homework exercise:
" To you as a person what does it mean to be a man?
To you as a person what does it mean to loose your manhood? "
Facilitators to listen, ensure that each person gets fair share of time to speak, challenge if necessary, but hopefully the group member's will challenge each other. (Perhaps point out that this is a group exercise and they need to speak to each other not to you, if participants continue to address their answers to facilitator only.)

TEA COFFEE TEA COFFEE TEA COFFEE TEA COFFEE

Big group Exercise re. Notions of male stereotypes
Facilitator to read this passage:
Themba, a precocious young boy, born in Mitchells Plain, born to parent from rural Transkei. When asked to define his identity he answered
' When I am on the school playground with my coloured friends I am black. When another black boy joins our group I think of myself Xhosa, when a Xhosa boy joins us I am from rural Transkei, When another Xhosa boy from rural Transkei turns up I become a Mitchells Plain school boy'

Terms are called out and facilitator asks for feedback, then comments. This will serve as a didactic summary of the previous exercises.

Polsmoor Power Dynamics
Facilitator draws link to previous session's discussions about power, and today's work on issues of masculinity. "Within Polsmoor, both dynamics operate and inter-connect. We are now going to draw the 2 together in a quick exercise."
BG shout-out of all the different roles within Polsmoor (e.g. warden, prisoner, gangster, social worker etc)

SG discussions
The group must place the roles on the triangle of power, in appropriate places.

	(Facilitators to encourage debate, challenge and interaction, but remains outside the circle as an observer – this is their world, they know it best. Intervene only if tension needs to be mediated, emphasising different perceptions according to status and experience within the system.)
	Closure A break from formal homework – next week we are going to talk about rape, starting with a session on " Why do men rape? " If people would like to explore their thoughts on this issue in preparation, please do. Evaluation forms to please be completed in their own time and handed to us next week.
	Magic Box 2 smaller groups. Facilitators to guide this 'positive, fun and creative' closing exercise – (in case there is tension remaining from expressed conflict or differences of opinion in last exercise) Each person to jump into imaginary box and give a gift to the others in the group.

Male Stereotypes
White
Son
Black
Gay
Coloured
Young
Old
Disabled
Single
Married
Transvestite
Working
Unemployed
Father

(Participant 'handout')

MASCULINITY – QUOTES FROM WORKSHOP (Pictures not included)

[The following quotes are by men, and taken from the book *Manhood* by Steve Biddolph. Translations into Afrikaans were by facilitators.]

'If you want to get along with your boys, you have to learn to wrestle'

-Paul Whyte

"Who taught us how to be a man?"

-Marvin Allen

"What is a man supposed to be? What did you learn about how to be a man? From the audience, 'Boys don't cry! Boys don't cry. The single most damaging thing you learn"

-Marvin Allen

Dit dien geen doel om vas gevang te wees in the pre-industriele kultuur, ons weet nogtans dat vandag se vaders werk tussen vyftig en tagtig kilometers van die huis en by die tyd dat hulle saans huis toe kom is die kinders dikwels in dle bed, en is soms te moeg om hulle vaderlike pligte uit te voer'

-Robert Bly
(original in quote English)

'Baie manne sterf oortulgd dat hulle die mees mislikte mens op die aarde was'

-Robert Bly
(original quote in English)

"See, Dad? What I can do!
"But, son, can't you do better?"

"Men say their penises have minds of their own, but men are geniuses at avoiding responsibility"

-Richard Rhodes

"So if a man can't trust anyone with a cock to be caring, compassionate and considerate. He looks towards the other gender for his emotional support and models behaviour"

- John Lee

The better a man takes care of himself during these dark times, the sooner he passes through the dark nights. The more damage and denial he does to himself, the longer he will take to heal, and the deeper will be the mistakes he makes along the way. More hearts will be broken in his attempts to heal his broken heart

-Robert Bly

And there is always something wrong with us. One boy feels too thin, or too short or too stringy, another has a stutter or a limp. One is too shy; another is not 'athletic' or can't dance or has a bad complexion.

-Robert Bly

The aim is not to <u>be</u> the wild man, but to be in touch with the wild man

-Robert Bly

Women were oppressed by men for thousands of years.
Finally men are getting a little repression – big deal !
It's the repression we had to have!

-Andrew Denton

[The next set of quotes are by men and women, adapted or taken verbatim from a book called: *Every Mother's Son: The role of mothers in the making of men* by Judith Arcana.]

Before they reach the age of 6, boys have learned not to tell other boys what their fears and fantasies were / are.
The sad truth is that men very rarely find full trust and friendship with other men.

-p284

Men are afraid, and they keep quiet in their fear.

Well, I am happy that I am male. I don't think I could go through what women go through.

WEEK 3- Workshop Five: WHY DO MEN RAPE?

Date: **Tuesday 11 September 2001**
Time: **10am - 1 pm**
Facilitators: Emma, Henrietta, Nicola, Marcel.

AIM OF SESSION: Introduce Rape – moving from previous sessions on social contexts and self-examination. Inclusion of some 'perpetrator dynamics".

	Welcome and Introductions Special welcome to Marcel – who is one of our consultants – has worked as a social worker in Pollsmoor for many years. Pleased to have her here to compliment our understanding of today's session: *"Why do men rape? "* Quick go-around for Marcel – 'names and one thing you like about yourself'. Lots to cover today – we will move quickly – please help in that – shorter tea break than usual.
	BG Brainstorm: "Who can be a rapist?" Shout out in group – should move from 'men' and 'women' to details such as 'priest', 'counsellor', 'father', 'gangster' etc. Summary – we all are potential rapists. Today we are going to examine WHY some people rape and why others don't. **Statistics.** Brief facilitator input – Speak about current Western Cape stats on rape – highlight some of the difficulties in using stats, unrepresentative due to silence – especially with men at the moment. It also shows that rape is an 'epidemic' and there must be a culture of violence and rape that promotes it. However – the stats show that in society men do most of the raping. Women may abuse other people – but mostly in line with their socialisation ie. they may manipulate, throw things, use a form of emotional abuse, shout..... but rape is an extremely rare form of assault. The rare incidents that happen are usually retaliatory – where women may castrate a man or use an object to rape a suspected rapist in their community. Within gangs, women may participate – but through co-ersion and adoption of male gang protocols. They may hold a woman down and shout abuse, but mostly they do not do the actual raping. So – why do some men rape?
	BG Brainstorm: Why do men rape women and children? Brief **introduction to the video** to be watched after tea.
	Quick break – take cup of tea or coffee to watch video. Facilitators to set up chairs in preparation.
	VIDEO – "Do you see me?"
	Small group Discussions:

	• Who really rapes? • What kind of personality does one need to have to qualify as a rapist? • Does the rapist have a plan? • Is rape always an accident, "on the spur of the moment thing" or is it always premeditated? Facilitators to listen, challenge when necessary, try to give as little actual input or answers as possible.
	Feedback to big group – quick summary, don't repeat what other groups have already said. **Facilitator input- Cycle of violence / Sexual Assault / Rape is about power with sex as the tool.** Include answer to question of "Once a rapist always a rapist? " **BG Brainstorm: Why do men rape other men?**
	Closure: Discuss in pairs: **" What is my input in male rape? Where do I go from here with the insights and information I have learned from this workshop?"** **Homework Exercise** – write down your answers to the last question. Start to think about <u>what rape actually is.</u> **Evaluation forms** **Brief go-around – ONE word to describe how you are feeling now.**

HOMEWORK EXERCISE- think about the following:

WHAT IS MY INPUT IN MALE RAPE?

WHERE DO I GO WITH THE INFORMATION OR INSIGHTS FROM TODAY'S WORKSHOP?

WHAT IS RAPE?

WEEK 4 - Session Seven.
Tuesday 25 September 2001. 10am - 1 pm.
POWER DYNAMICS WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF PRISON.
'– WHAT IS RAPE WITHIN POLLSMOOR?'

ICEBREAKER
WORD – WHEEL (Aim: to remind participants of what we have covered already in past sessions, to get them chatting to one another again, and literally 'break the ice' of the past week's absence)

Words and questions are called out one by one by the facilitators.
Each person is given 30 seconds to express their associations and thoughts to the person standing opposite them.

How was the break of a week from training? ;
How do you feel today? ;
Power ; Sex ; Prison ; Rape ; Manhood ;
What are your hopes / expectations for the rest of the course?

FACILITATOR WELCOME AND INTRODUCTION
Welcome and Review of group contract.
Review of the training thus far.
Outline of the next few sessions.
(NB to emphasise once more that we are not training counsellors – introductions to listening skills constitute a small part of this training. If skills need to be developed or enhanced, as assessed later – approach Rape Crisis for a more intense follow-up workshop.)

Introduction to today's session.
(Draw links to the previous sessions. "Today we are shifting from considerations of broad societal contexts, to an examination of the context of this prison. This session focuses specifically on rape within Pollsmoor, informed by what we have previously covered".)

POLLSMOOR POWER DYNAMICS.
Introduction to exercise
Facilitator draws link to previous session's discussions about power, masculinity and gender, and how they might intersect within rape.
(Include reminder of the feelings evoked in the 'paper-power exercise'. Draw attention to the definition of 'power' elicited by the group. It is pasted on the wall behind facilitator.)
"Within Pollsmoor, all these dynamics are operative. All interconnect. The next exercise is designed to draw out different perceptions of how power operates within Pollsmoor".

Pre-prepared: 3X empty 'triangles of power' drawn on large sheets of paper; prestick; different roles, organisations and groups within Pollsmoor written on separate papers; additional pieces of paper available on which to write any roles or groups that participants think have been excluded.

Defining roles, groups within Pollsmoor:
Inligtings kommittee, sport's committee, admin workers, shop keeper, religious workers, huisbaas, wyfie, NGO's, Dept of Correctional services, 27, 26, 28, Frans, white inmates, black inmates, coloured inmates, gangster, rape victim, head of admissions, nurses, doctors, psychologists, social workers, male warders, female warders, inmate, visitors, Friends Against Abuse, monitors, Grades A B and C, Sentenced and unsentenced.

Small Group Discussions
The group are asked to paste the 'roles' on the triangle of power, according to their assessments of which groups and roles hold and exert the most power within Male Admissions in Pollsmoor.

(Facilitators to encourage debate, challenge and interaction, but remain outside the circle as observers, intervening only if tension needs to be mediated.)

Big Group Feedback and summary
Facilitator to draw out from discussion:
- Is this power hierarchy so absolute? Can it be negotiated?
- Is there a layer of subversion of the entrenched hierarchy? How does it operate?
- What are possible links to how and why rape occurs in Pollsmoor?

Facilitator to point out:
Class dynamic in power issues, which might intersect with 'race'.
(As in 'outside' society – upper classes use their accustomed layers of power eg. education, money, politics and their control, law, religion, media... to gain and sustain power (but they may still use organised power and violence as in rape).
Lower classes' level of power is on a physical level - they are accustomed to, and use, physical coercion – different types, such as rape and physical violence – to get or maintain power.
Do they agree?)

Big Group EXERCISE: MALE RAPE SURVIVORS' TESTIMONIES.
All invited to sit and listen to pre-prepared audiotape, which consists of selected survivor testimonies extracted from USA Stop Prisoner Rape literature. (REF)
The recorded extracts are in a male South African accent / voice. This selection focuses on gang dynamics etc – more on *how* and *why* rape occurs than on the feelings evoked, as appropriate to today's topic.
A male member of the group will read an extract from a testimony of a rape survivor from Pollsmoor – printed recently in a 'Fair Lady' magazine article. (Ref?)

SG Discussions:

WHO, HOW, WHY rape occurs... (See Appendix >>)

Feedback to BG.
Facilitator Summary / Input – prepared. (See summary in Appendix>>)
(Facilitator input may include reminders that rape is about power not sex; it is difficult to define rape clearly in a prison context, as even if there is 'consent' – what is the coercion implicit in such consent?)

CLOSURE
Big Group 'GO-AROUND'.

Homework exercise: "How do you think a man may feel after he has been raped?"

WHY DO MEN RAPE?

- **Who really rapes?**

- **What kind of personality does one need to qualify as a rapist?**

- **Does the rapist have a plan?**

- **Is rape always an accident, 'on the spur of the moment' thing, or is it always premeditated?**

TESTIMONY : READ OUT BY PARTICIPANT.
Extract from *Fair Lady* magazine article by J. Oersen – 29 August 2001 –
Male rape: The Secret Crime.

I was 17 when I went to prison for the first time, on a charge of theft. I walked in and thought to myself, John what have you done? On the very first day I met people and made friends. I also got robbed. They took my watch, but what could I do? I was scared, scared of everything going on around me. Like when I first saw what was going on under the blankets. I couldn't help but feel scared, because I was placed in the same section as some of the prison gangsters. Luckily for me nothing happened and I was released a year later.

The second time I drove through the gates of Pollsmoor was in August 1999. I was 19, and had been sentenced for assault. This time they didn't rob me. Instead, I was initiated as an indoda (gangster) – I became a member of the 28s.

I remember that day very clearly. I was Christmas day 1999. They took me into a room and asked me to sit down so that the officials wouldn't see me. I was taught all the rules and regulations and was given a new name. I thought I'd be protected. I was wrong. Two days later I was summoned by Tony who asked me to become his son. He explained to me that it was quite a privilege because he could protect me. I knew what he meant. I would have to sleep with him for that privilege.

In prison they have sex with you in two ways – anally or through your thighs. When I refused Tony, he forced me. First he pulled my pants down and had sex with me through my thighs. Then he wanted to have anal sex. I said no, and he pulled out a knife and threatened me. Somehow I managed to run away, but then some of the other inmates visited me and told me if I didn't give Tony what he wanted they'd either beat or stab me to death. I was forced to go back.

Tony's bed was called his 'office'; it was covered behind curtains. Although there were people sleeping on top, nobody could see what was going on. Tony made me lie on my stomach and use Vaseline to lubricate me. I couldn't control anything. The entire time I told him not to do it, but he just told me to keep my mouth shut. And I gave in. When he entered me, I screamed. I felt like I was being robbed. When Tony eventually came, he just rolled over and said he wanted to sleep. He didn't even use a condom. Sore, torn and bleeding, I went to the shower and cleaned myself with cold water. I wanted to tell the officials what he'd done, but I was too scared. Word would get around and, if he found out, he would kill me.

He raped me again the following night, and this time I couldn't cry. It felt I was being eaten from the inside. He raped me regularly for the next eight months, until I was moved to the A-section. In the A-section Jim did the same, and I became what they call his 'wyfie'. Jim raped me for four months, and every time he did it, I said no.

These experiences changed my life. I will never be the same again. They took something away from me, something I can never get back. I hope I never meet them outside prison, because I will kill them.

WEEK 4 - Session Eight. Thursday 27 September 2001. 10am - 1 pm.
THE EFFECTS OF RAPE ON MEN IN PRISON

FACILITATOR INTRODUCTION
Facilitator to explain that we had noticed an aura of depression and lack of energy in the last session. We wondered what could have caused it, and we thought of a number of possibilities, which may be correct or incorrect. Perhaps it was due to the fact that we had taken a week's break and it was difficult to re-connect with the group? Maybe it had something to do with the group members who had left Pollsmoor that week or were absent? Maybe it was due to the previous day's holiday or the current news of possible war as a result of USA bombings?
The reasons could be personal or related to the group. We are in the middle of the training, and have stressed that we will be leaving soon – maybe the heavy feeling had something to do with the fact that we will be leaving and the responsibility for the "Friends" group will be left with them?
We are also aware that, in the training, we have shifted from looking at broad social dynamics to a focus on the very real and personal issues of rape in Pollsmoor – which may feel very personal, private, and difficult to examine?
Whatever the reasons may be, and it could be slightly different for each person – we thought that we had not given enough time in last week's session to hear what each person was feeling and thinking. So today we're going to spend some time re-connecting with one another, and learning about where we are at in our lives.

SG EXERCISE: DRAWINGS
Each person is asked to draw a picture about **"Where I am at"** - personal concerns and feelings.
This is not about art – the drawing can be symbolic – a few colours, lines or scribbles, or anything that happens when you draw. The drawing may end up reflecting a particular issue on your mind, or a feeling you have... You do not have to represent anything about this course at all. However, it is a huge part of all of our lives – as facilitators and participants – we meet twice a week and the content of the training is challenging to each of us. It's very likely that some of what you are thinking and feeling is related to what we have been covering over the last weeks, even if you haven't been aware of it.

SG Discussions: Each person takes a turn to talk about their drawing.
Guidelines / ground rules:

- Art has personal meaning to its creator. When you talk about your drawings with the small group afterwards – share only what you are comfortable with telling others. Chose what you want others to hear – the rest can remain private.
- In this exercise – no laughing, no jokes, no questions, no comments on the drawing itself.
- Think about what you want to say – there is limited time which must be shared equally with other group members – so no long stories and explanations. (Useful exercise in terms of facilitation skills etc).
- Those who are not talking, please listen with care, attention and respect.

BG REVIEW AND COMPLETION OF THE LAST SESSION :
" WHY DO MEN RAPE IN POLLSMOOR'?
Facilitator input – complete what has not been covered and go over other content. Time for discussion / debate included.

VIDEOS AND TESTIMONIES OF RAPE SURVIVORS.
(Rationale: We want to elicit and evoke emotions. Room is prepared during tea, with blank pieces of paper on each seat. During tea, men have been asked to read particular texts, so have time to prepare if they want to.)

Introduction to videos and testimonies:
Today we're focusing on the effects of rape of men in prison, specifically. We will complete this topic in the first part of next week's session.
Caution: Be careful of your own and other people's feelings, be gentle with what you talk about ad how you talk about it later– some of us in this group may well have been raped ourselves. Statistically this is a likelihood, and many of us are interested in this field as we have had some prior exposure to, or experience of, rape or violent assault ourselves.

I	Each participant is asked to write the first things that come to mind after watching each video clip or hearing the set of testimonies. This is simply a reminder to themselves of how they responded – don't need to go into too much detail. **Videos:** Extract from Women Against War – testimony of woman crying and speaking about her rape by a priest. (REF) Extract from "Why? Why? Why?" – the end section where the stages of healing are covered, as well as the preceding story, which leads up to a woman being raped. *(This shows a different scene – Cape Town context, different 'classes' and 'races' from the previous video clip.)* American prison rape testimonies - read out by group members. Extracts focus on feelings and consequences of rape rather than causes of rape. **SG Discussions.** How did it feel to watch the videos and listen to the extracts ? Were there differences in reactions to particular sections – why? (This discussion may include whether they feel that the effects of rape of men may be different from the effects of rape of women.) **Small Group Brainstorm:** *(Written on big pieces of paper – we will return to these next week – person is selected to report back – once again a person who is not one of the usual people that select themselves or are habitually selected for this role.)* **What are the PHYSICAL, EMOTIONAL and BEHAVIOURAL consequences of men being raped in Pollsmoor?** *(Link to the homework exercise, if appropriate. Explain the terms:* Physical – experienced in / through the BODY Emotional – FEELINGS – may not show them, or be fully aware of them Behavioural – ACTIONS, what you do – alone or in relation to other people, voluntary or involuntary, aware or unaware
	CLOSURE **Feedback:** Each person is handed a blank piece of paper and asked to anonymously **write something to us as facilitators** – anything at all - (negative or positive, a comment about something you haven't had a chance to express, a feeling, thought, concern, request, reflection...) **Next week:** Reminder that we are meeting on Wednesday (not Tues) - thank you for understanding. **'Exercise' EXERCISE** eg. Each person does a movement and the rest of the group copies them. (Sets a playful tone – could stimulate action, be funny and affirming, – no reflection of feelings etc – more neutral, no talk about it afterwards.)

Did you feel safe enough to speak and share in the group?

What was it like to be in a group with warders and in-mates of Pollsmoor?

Were there other people you think should have been in these workshops?

Were the 'homework' exercises and diaries helpful to you?

If you have been in workshops before – do you think this training was different from others? How?

If you were to change anything in the training, what would you change ? How ?

What did you think of the facilitation ?

Do you feel more equipped to deal with the problem of rape in Pollsmoor?

What skills would you like to develop further ? What would you like to learn? From where could you get what you need?

What do you think about Rape Crisis now that you have done the course? Is it different from when you started the course?

What do you think about "Friends Against Abuse?" now?

Any other comments:

I could abuse my power when dealing with rape survivors
These are the things I need to watch out for in myself, or think about to make sure I don't misuse my knowledge / skills / authority / status:

These are the **things I can do** to build on my strengths and work on my weaknesses:

Other comments:

THURSDAY 15 NOVEMBER 2001
CONFIDENTIAL EVALUATION OF WORKSHOP

I FEEL .....

I LEARNED / GAINED ....

I WAS FRUSTRATED BY .....

I ENJOYED.....

I NEED TO.....

I WILL.....

I DO / DO NOT WANT A FOLLOW - UP WORKSHOP
I WOULD LIKE IT TO FOCUS ON.....

OTHER COMMENTS FOR THE FACILITATORS :

RAPE CRISIS WORKSHOP / PRESENTATION EVALUATION FORM

DATE: _____

Did you find this workshop helpful to you personally or in your work?
In what ways ?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Was there anything you were dissatisfied with, or would have changed?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

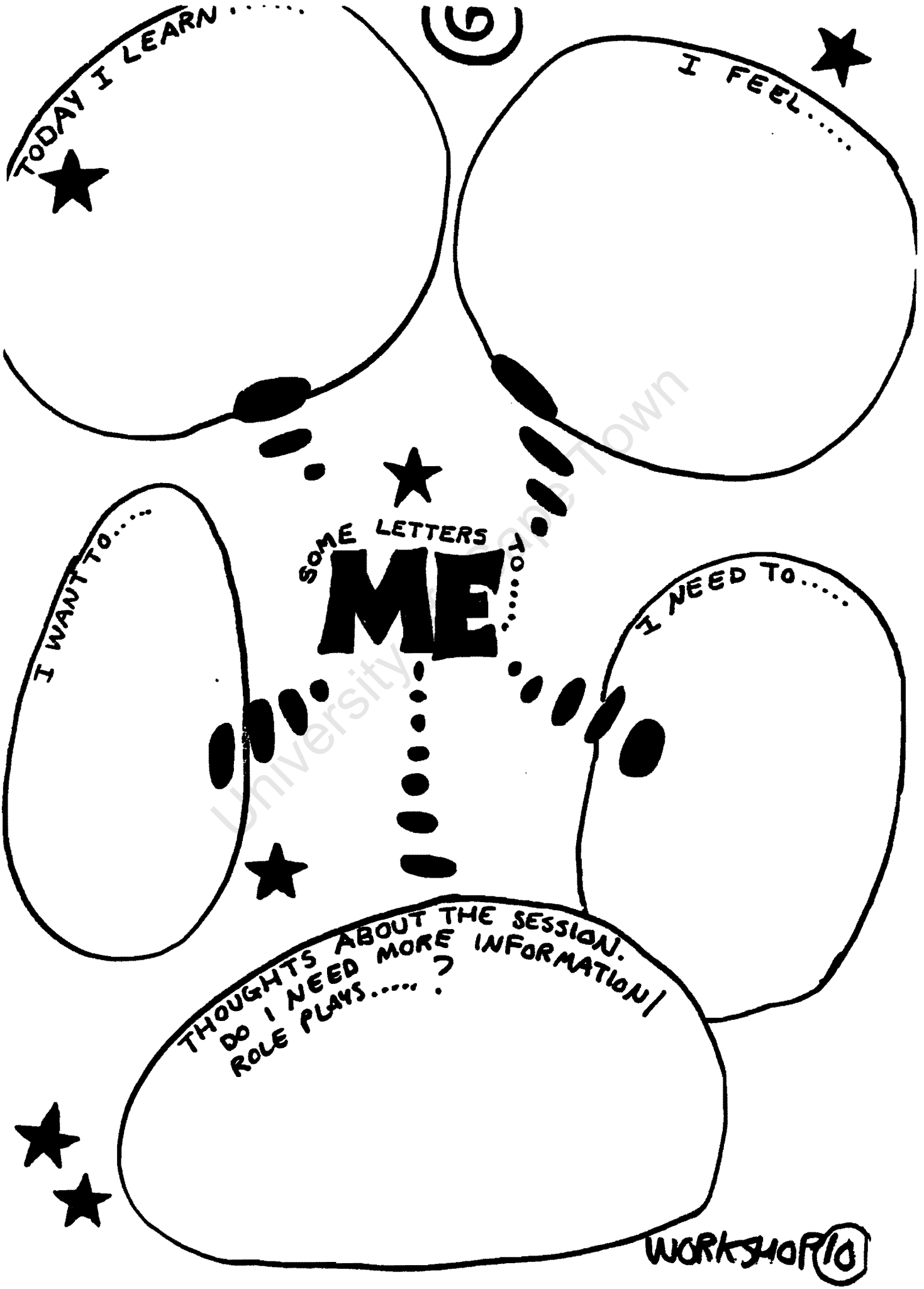
Would you like more information on this topic ? If so, what?

_____
_____
_____
_____

Do you have any comments on the facilitation today ?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Thank you for your feedback, it helps us assess our work and plan for future workshops.



(Used within workshop 11)

FOR MY OWN HEALING I NEED TO.....

FOR THE HEALING OF OTHERS I NEED TO .....

(Used within workshop 2)

Until we meet next Tuesday, think about this question, look at your actions and write down :

WAYS IN WHICH YOU USE YOUR POWER

WAYS IN WHICH OTHER PEOPLE USE THEIR POWER AGAINST YOU

(Used within workshop 5)

WHY DO MEN RAPE?

- **Who really rapes?**

- **What kind of personality does one need to qualify as a rapist?**

- **Does the rapist have a plan?**

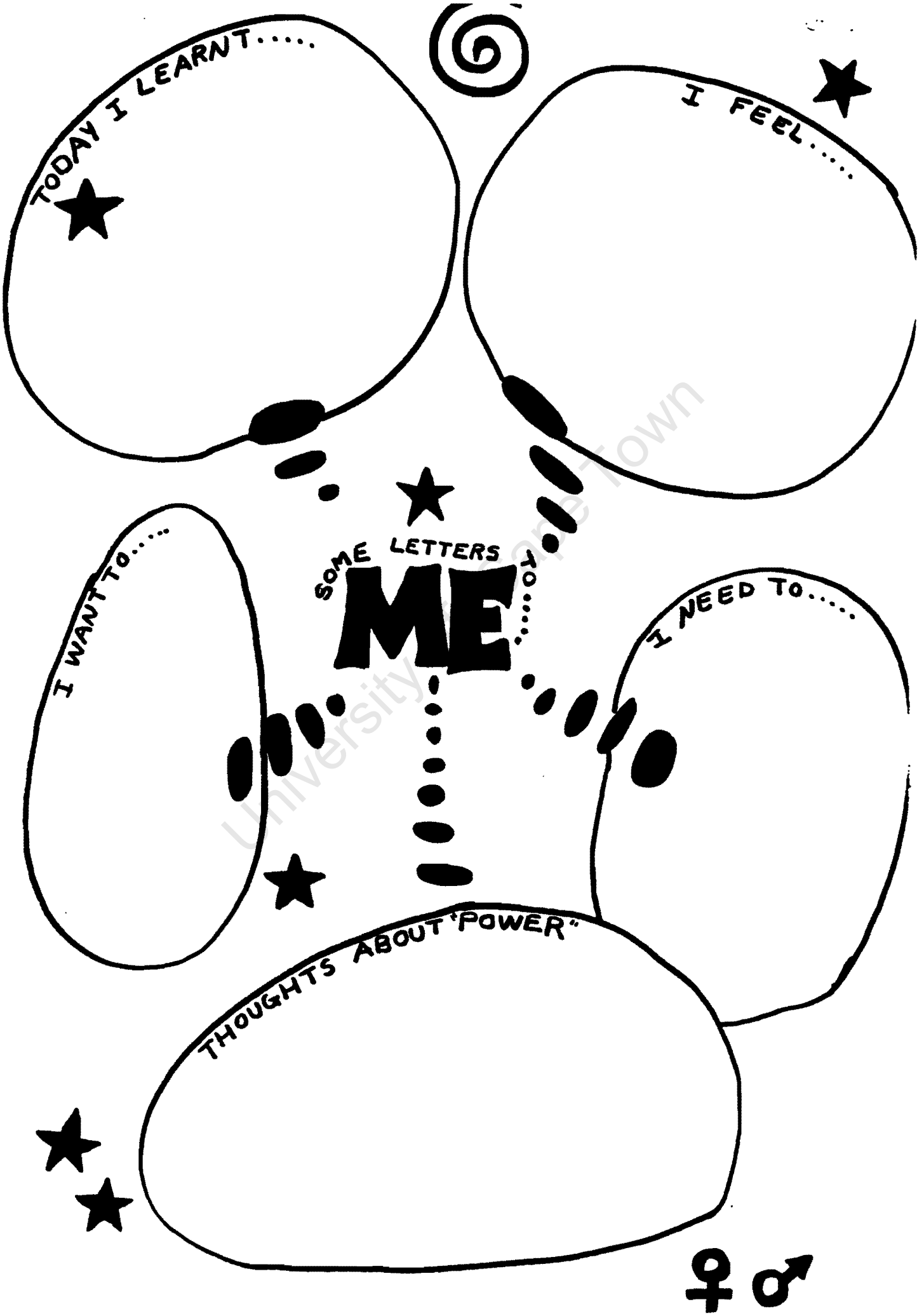
- **Is rape always an accident, 'on the spur of the moment' thing, or is it always premeditated?**

HOMEWORK EXERCISE- think about the following:

WHAT IS MY INPUT IN MALE RAPE?

WHERE DO I GO WITH THE INFORMATION OR INSIGHTS FROM TODAY'S WORKSHOP?

WHAT IS RAPE?



EMPATHY / LISTENING / CONTAINMENT
and dangers of misuse of power in 'helping role'

SCENARIO 4
You are an ex-28. Most of the people you see in the prison know this. You are talking with one of the rape survivors in the safe cell and you notice that he does not seem to trust you. He seems nervous and keeps moving away from you. You feel upset because you know that you want to help him as a member of "Friends", and your intentions are good.

Why do you think he is acting this way and what do you do?

SCENARIO 8
All sorts of people are starting to apply to join the 'Friends' group. You have heard that men in Pollsmoor think that it gives you privileges and may even help you get parole. You suspect that they may be motivated to join for these reasons, but they say that they want to help rape survivors. One man approaches you. He has been sentenced for rape of a woman. He seems sincere in his concern for men who have been raped in prison, and says he has changed. He is trained as a social worker and you need people with skills in the group.

What do you think?
What do you do?

SCENARIO 10
Jackson has been raped. He is really upset and finding it very difficult to deal with his fear. He paces up and down all day. He needs a lot of care and support, you think. Although there are lots of people in the safe cell needing attention, you have given him extra time. Today, you find out that Jackson is serving his second sentence for raping young boys.

How do you feel?
Does this information affect your interaction with him, and how?

(Handout used within workshop 13)

"VICARIOUS TRAUMATISATION" OR "SECONDARY TRAUMATISATION"

If you work in the field of trauma, know that you can be effected by your work, by constantly listening to other people's stories of pain and loss.

Can be worse if:

- You have had similar experiences of trauma in your own life
- You want to rescue people
- You have less experience and training
- No-one or few people in your workplace or environment sees or cares about the stress that the work places on you or others
- There is no support made available for the workers / volunteers
- There are too many people that need too much around you
- You have other personal stresses

SYMPTOMS / WARNING SIGNS

You may feel things similar to those that rape survivors experience.

- Thoughts / images come into your head and you can't control them
- You react to 'small' problems – you become easily tearful, anxious, angry or irritable
- It's hard to trust others
- You become concerned about your safety or that of your family
- You feel numb
- You have difficulty in relationships
- Sexual difficulties ?
- You may feel that what you believed in before is gone, no more ideals – you feel negative, question things – "people are evil, no-one is safe, God is not there ..."
- You despair about the violence and cruelty in our society
- "It's no good" – you start to feel that you and your work can't make a difference.
- You see trauma everywhere – in others, in yourself, can't see simple 'happy' things.
- You have less energy
- Depression can develop
- You start distancing yourself from 'survivors' and people asking for help too – suspicious about them, questioning, don't want to hear another story.....
- Lower self – esteem
- Headaches, nausea, sleeplessness
- You may feel shame and guilt for feeling these ways?

SOME THINGS THAT CAN HELP:

ORGANISATIONAL ASSISTANCE:

- Ongoing training to inspire, improve skills
- Space to speak about feelings: eg. supervision, peer supervision, debriefing after a stressful incident
- Organisational support and back –up
- Recognition of effort and achievement
- Team work - responsibility shared
- Clear goals and aims
- Proper procedures and protocols
- Time off – leave / break from responsibility
- Do different work sometimes – don't stay in same role, variety
- Atmosphere of safety, respect and control, empathy

WHAT YOU CAN DO PERSONALLY:

- "Don't take your work home with you"
- Take a break, have fun, make sure you do different things not related to trauma
- Exercise
- Read, walk, talk to friends, listen to music ....
- Develop your spiritual side
- Be clear about your own motivation, sense of meaning and purpose in life
- Look at your support structures, if they are not helping, make plans to improve or change them
- Ask for help
- Play
- Keep a sense of humour, laugh
- Be creative
- Take care of yourself physically
- Write in journal
- Avoid things that may distress you, as far as possible
- Therapy
- Know your limitations
- Have hope in each person's ability to heal and grow and change and take responsibility for their own lives
- Keep the boundaries you set for yourself and others

[Sources used in compiling this document : pamphlets compiled for use of organisations and individuals by: Anastasia Maw – Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture: 1997; Edith Kriel, social worker; Jackie Stewart, Cape Mental Health Society: 1998.]

(Used in follow-up workshop with 'Friends')

CONFIDENTIALITY

Considerations of confidentiality are designed to:

- **protect rape survivors and other 'clients'.**
- **protect members of the organisation**
- **ensure that the work you do is congruent with what you have been trained / prepared to do and FAA ethics**

GUIDELINES

Any interaction between 'client' and 'facilitator' is strictly confidential - formal and informal interactions. Once you have a relationship with an individual and have guaranteed confidentiality – it remains. It does not need to be stated or negotiated on each meeting. Even if you are an in-mate and a warder asks you for details of an interaction, you should not feel obliged to tell him / her.

Don't discuss cases / stories outside of 'Friends Against Abuse'.
Sometimes you may feel that you need to talk to someone close to you.
Talk about YOUR feelings and thoughts only.
Do not name the person involved and do not tell them details.

When discussing your client / story / interaction **with FAA members – do not use names or tell specific details unless you are absolutely sure that there it is a reason to do so.**
For example – if you are trying to get a person transferred to the Safe Cell, it may be necessary to name him so that the transfer can happen.
Think about WHY you want to tell the story in detail. Sometimes there is an element of voyeurism or pleasure in story- telling involved.
If you want specific advice about a particularly challenging or unusual situation, you may need to give details. Often you can share the broad outlines of the story and get the same information and feedback from the group without exposing individual identities and specific places, times etc.

Do not discuss information about cases that you have heard about from other FAA members.
Use what you hear in order to learn and help you in similar situations.
If you do not know the person personally, all that you say about them is based on another person's perception and opinion. Do not get involved in 'skinner'.
Prison is generally considered a place where few can be trusted and there is no confidentiality. Don't do anything that will make you part of those dynamics.

Any reports or records must be kept in a safe place where confidentiality is assured.
Never keep written records in your cell or on a desk where other people might read them.
Write reports as soon as possible – while your memory is fresh.

Respect the confidentiality of everything that is shared within FAA meetings or workshops.
Do not tell other in-mates or warders personal details about other members or discuss internal matters with them.

Ask permission before you disclose information or identities.
For example – if information needs to be given to lawyers or doctors or other professionals – obtain consent first. Explain your motives honestly.
If information is requested about FAA members, the same applies.

Develop a policy for the press and external organisations wanting information.
Preserve individual confidentiality at all costs.
You could decide that one or two people in FAA have the responsibility for screening requests and checking any external publicity before it is published.

As a group, **decide what constitutes a serious breach of confidentiality and how it will be handled.**

Get every member of FAA to **sign a 'Confidentiality Agreement' that binds you to this principle and practice of confidentiality.**

POLLSMOOR TRAINING COURSE - AUG 2001 -

FACILITATOR'S EVALUATION

DATE: _____

TRAINING SESSION: _____

FACILITATORS: _____

How do you <u>feel</u> now ? (eg. exhausted, exhilarated, confused .....)

_____

_____

What is your <u>overall impression</u> of the session? Did it meet it's objectives ?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

In your opinion, what was the <u>most effective</u> part of the workshop ? Why ?

_____

_____

_____

_____

What worked <u>least effectively</u> in the workshop ? How could you account for that ? (eg. goal, preparation, group or facilitator dynamics .....)

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

If you were to alter aspect/s of the workshop, which <u>would you change</u> ? How ? (eg. continuity, timing, different exercises .....)

_____

_____

_____

_____

Were there any logistical problems ? (*eg. organisation, materials, transport, refreshments .....)*

Any comments on group dynamics (participants and facilitators) ?
How did you see the process of this session in relation to others ?

Which aspects of your facilitation style do you think worked best ?

What facilitation skills would you like to develop further ?

Please name one thing you gained from the workshop: (personal challenge/inspiration/outrage...)

General comments:

[The purpose of this evaluation is to give us an opportunity to reflect on the process and content of each workshop, with a view to addressing any current difficulties and improving future training. It also serves as an opportunity to examine our facilitation styles, and hopefully acts as a 'de-briefing' for our feelings after a session.]

POLLSMOOR / RAPE CRISIS TRAINING COURSE - 2001

PARTICIPANT'S EVALUATION

This will help us evaluate our work, and plan for other training. You can leave out any questions you don't want to answer.

How do you feel now that the training is over?

Were your feelings effected during the 6 weeks of training ? How?

Did you change or challenge your attitudes or beliefs in any way through this training?

What is your overall impression of the training? Did it meet your expectations and needs ?

What was the best part of the training for you? Why?

What was the worst part of the training for you ? Why?